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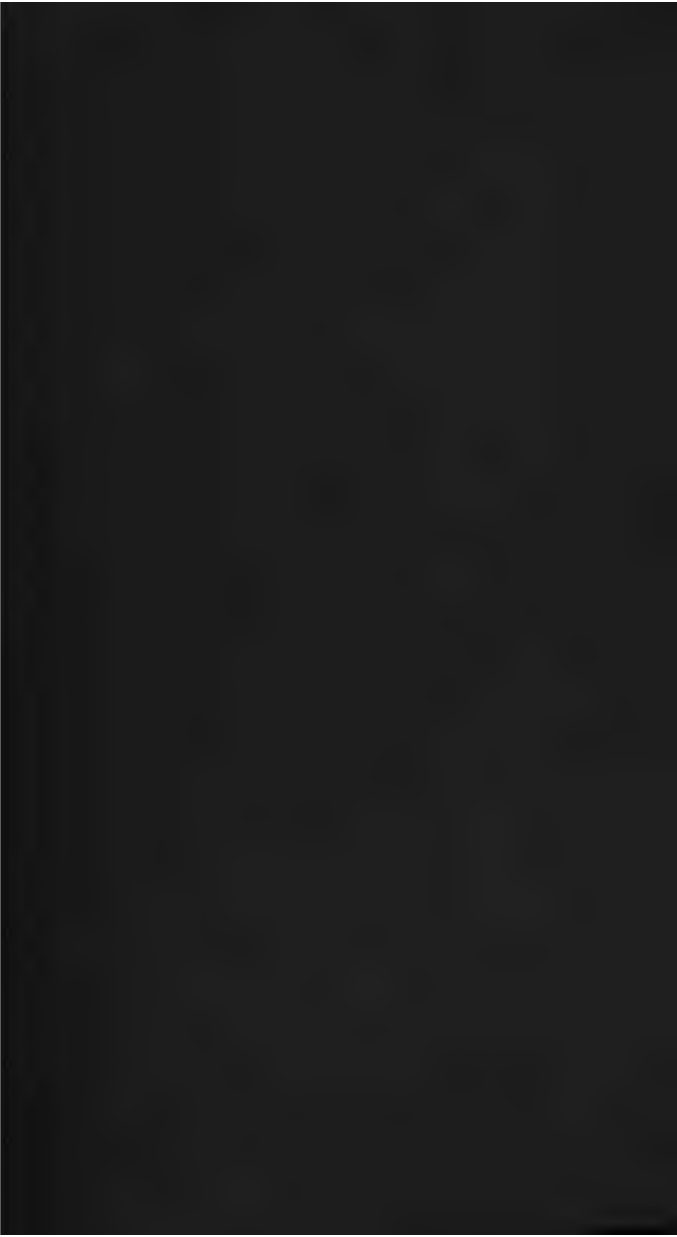
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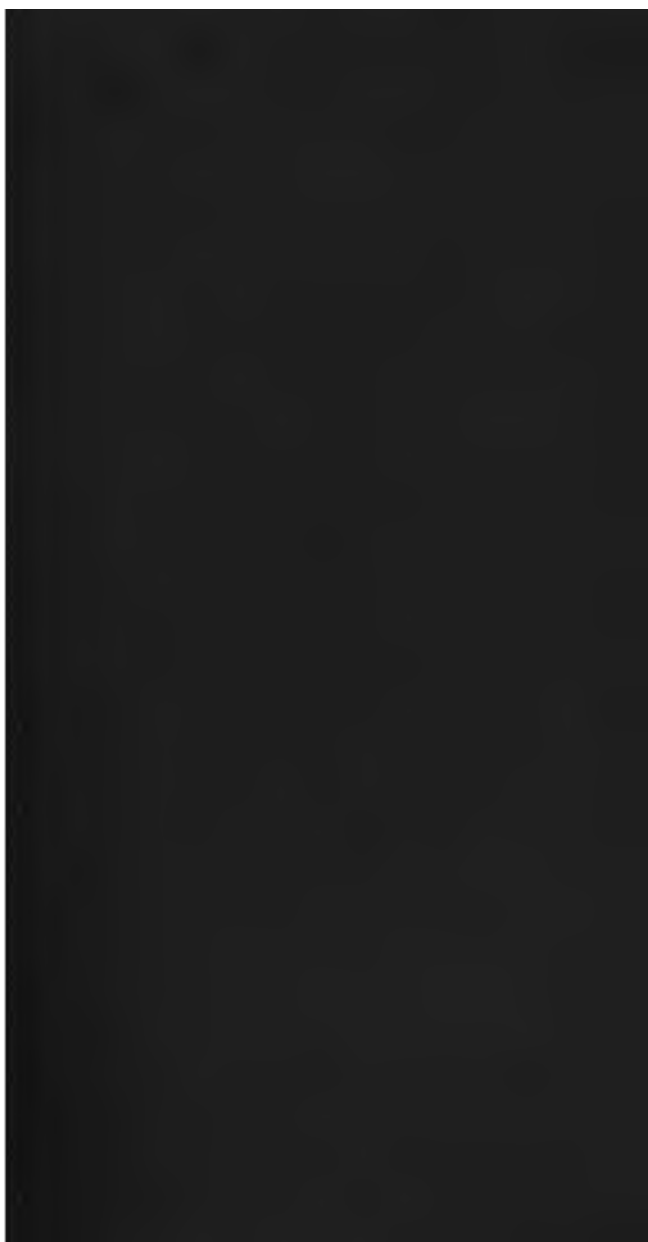
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*A Vindication of the Hymn*

# TE DEUM LAUDAMUS,

From Errors and Misrepresentations of  
a Thousand Years.

WITH TRANSLATIONS INTO VARIOUS LANGUAGES,  
ANCIENT AND MODERN.

And a PARAPHRASE in OLD ENGLISH, now first printed  
from the original MS.

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"I will sing with the spirit, and ... with the understanding also."

---

BY EBENEZER THOMSON, ESQ.

Author of *German-English Analogies*, an Essay on "The Archaic  
Mode of expressing Numbers in Anglo-Saxon," &c.

Editor of "Select Monuments of Doctrine and Worship," &c.  
A.-S., Latin, and English.

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## P R E F A C E.

**W**HEN an author who has no pretension to literary fame, comes before the public as a corrector of supposed errors, or an advocate of new views in regard to a subject with which every one of his readers must have been long and intimately acquainted, it is naturally expected that he should exhibit some proof of his qualification for the office—that his correction is made with judgement, and his views taken under a proper light. Though a perusal of the little volume may satisfy a candid inquirer upon this point, at

no great expense of time or labour, yet some may desire to have the means of judging beforehand what probability there is of any benefit to be derived from that employment of the time and labour. For the encouragement of such as are willing to judge for themselves, it might be sufficient to refer to an extract from the Gentleman's Magazine, (printed in the Appendix,) in which I state the occasion which led me to an investigation of the subject more than thirty years ago; from which it will appear that the question was so far from being sought by me as a ground of quarrel or controversy, that it forced itself upon me in the course of my professional occupation and literary research.

From the year 1823, in which this occurred, it was not until 1845 that I had the opportunity of making

the exact research, and critical examination, and collation of MSS., editions, and translations, which the case required. The result of that investigation was so satisfactory, and seemed so important, both in a literary, and a religious point of view, that I felt myself bound, in duty to the sacred theme, to the Author of my faculties, and to my fellow-Christians, no longer to suppress the light which my inquiries had thrown upon the subject.

Having, through the recommendation of a learned friend, obtained permission to communicate my views to the public in the respectable periodical mentioned above, I began with a correction of some serious errors into which our most eminent Saxon scholars have fallen, and my observations being well received by many who were qualified to judge in the

matter, I proceeded to the more important subject, upon which this appeal to the public is founded.

My first notice of a few cases of mistranslation in the “Gloria Patri,” and the “Te Deum,” called forth a worthy son of the Church, whose name or actual position I never learnt, eminently fitted by ingenuity, learning, and zeal, to appear as counsel for the defence. Ably and faithfully, with all fairness and courtesy, he supported the cause of the received reading, and rendered effectual aid in the searching ventilation to which I desired to see the subject exposed. Relying more upon the soundness of my views than upon any art of reasoning, or force of eloquence, in conducting the argument, I maintained my cause with the earnestness and perseverance which a persuasion of its justice and importance could

not fail to inspire. Should any one ask the result, I will not answer with vaunting Ajax—

“Non sum superatus ab illo ;”

nor with his eloquent competitor—

“Difficilem tenui sub iniquo iudice causam ;”

but refer my readers to this “Vindication,” which exhibits, in a consecutive form, the sum and substance of the argument, as communicated to the Gentleman’s Magazine, between November, 1847, and (inclusively) May, 1848.—See “Index” for these years.

In my “Notes to the Meditation” I have ventured to add a finishing touch to Price’s ingenious and satisfactory etymology of the proverbial phrase “For the nonce,” *i. e.* for the once, for the one occasion.—If I had known anything of Mr. Price, and his engagement with



Warton's "History of English Poetry," in 1823, I could have helped him through a difficulty which occurred in the extract from the Saxon Chronicle, under the year 938, the battle of Brunanburg, where

King Athelstan and his brother,  
 Edmund Atheling (*i. e.* Prince Edmund),  
 Ealdor langne tyr  
 Geslogon æt fæcce, &c.

"Ealdor," the elder! said, as somewhere still say, the interpreters of this song; and "geslogon," slew [the foe], &c. But why understand "the foe," when an object, "langne tyr," stands unappropriated before the verb? Slew a long glory! Well, what is slew?—struck, also, obtained by striking: thus, "Achates flew fyre of flint:" G. Douglas. "Silici scintillam excudit Achates:" Virgil. "By striking obtained fire from flint." So, with the aid of old Gawin, I had

struck out a true solution, which was afterwards confirmed by Bede's "fige geflogon,"—the Saxons "obtained the victory" over the Britons.

But what do you make of Ealdor, the Elder? I answer—Neither as an adjective, "of greater age," nor as a noun, Chief or Ruler, can that word be an epithet of Edmund, to whose name it would inevitably be joined. Ealdor is only another form of Aldor, Ger, Alter, age, an age, *saeculum*, or *aevum*; and, as "langne tyr" does not suggest any appropriate meaning, join "ealdor" to it, which being, like "world," either singular or plural, will make Ealdor-lang (a new compound for the dictionary), age-long, or lasting to ages, *i. e.* for ever. See Appendix, p. 68. This answers, or anticipates the objection raised by a learned and ingenious member of the University of Cambridge, that an

age-long, or life-long glory was a prize of little worth.\* The reverend gentleman ought to have known that the objection to "age-long," as expressing too short a duration, is equally valid against "eternal," *aeternus* for *aeviternus*, from *aevum*, an age. Why I did not come forward with this defence of my views, may be easily understood from the fact that my name was not mentioned in that controversy—neither party probably being aware of my connection with the subject. Price's *WARTON* was published in 1824, and exhibited several attempts upon the passage in question, by the editor and his friends. I tried to open a correspondence with Mr. Price, but the channel which I adopted failed of success. After some years, Mr. Richard

\* See *Gent. Mag.* for 1848—2d Letter from EDWIN GUEST.

Taylor republished the work, with many improvements, contributed by himself and other eminent Saxonists.

Among other things, my correction of "Ealdor langne" appeared without the name of any author; and I afterwards found the same view in Mr. Thorpe's *Analec̃ta*, 2d ed. 1846; the first edition I know not. Between 1823, when I got my *brochure* of 16 pages printed, of which I delivered one copy into the hands of Dr. Bandinel in the Bodleian Library, and the 2d edition of Price's *WARTON*, there was ample time for some one of the many diligent and perspicacious investigators of our ancient speech, to reach the conclusion at which I had arrived; and it is for the purpose of vindicating the sense, not claiming the merit, of the reading, that I have thought it my duty to introduce the subject. I had

another copy with me in London which I would gladly have presented to any brother-Saxonist ; but, being quite a stranger there, did not meet with any one likely to prize such a gift. Some copies were sent up in the '31, or '32, containing, on a fly-leaf, my name, with a few corrections or additional discoveries — one of which, “ Lides stefn,” Prow of the ship, was afterwards made by *the late* (alas ! for that epithet to) J. M. Kemble, M.A.

The loss to English, and to every branch of Teutonic lore, by Kemble's death it is easier to deplore than to compensate ; but we are happy to have his illustrious friend, JAMES GRIMM, still labouring in the rich mines of mediæval Germany, and exhibiting her choicest gems to the kindred peoples of every land. The author of the “ Deutsche

Grammatik" will perhaps be pleased to know that the "desideratum," stated in his 2d edition, is supplied by King Alfred's version of Bede:—Uton *we* *bidan*, (Let us wait.) Last words of the poet Cædmon. (Having neither work at hand, I cannot quote pages,—but "Verbum sapienti sat.") See D. Gr. 3d ed. p. 341.

The ancient versions, the French especially, may seem to need a Glossary. This, however, would have swelled the volume beyond the intended limits; and the literal translation of the Latin may serve as a key to the several glosses in prose. The A.-S., No. iv. par. 12 (page 35), has an elision not observed elsewhere—*Tarwurþienne*, for "to arwurþienne," to be worshipped. This figure þ of our *th*, or rather *dh*, is still in use, though hasty scribes had reduced it so near to the form of *y*,

that our earliest type-founders and printers, being foreigners, made the same character serve for both.—On the same page, last line, “alfiaþ,” as MS., is for halfiaþ. See p. 89, l. 21.

Oct. 17, 1857.

E. T.

ERRATUM.

Page 74, l. 6 for (—) read —



## A VINDICATION, Etc.

**T**HE celebrated hymn "Te Deum laudamus" is remarkable for the skill and judgement which the author has shown in selecting and arranging the matter of which it is composed. Passages from the Old and passages from the New Testaments, from the Psalms, from prophets, gospels, and epistles, are so harmoniously blended together, as to give to the whole piece the unity, raciness, and power of an original



poem. Poetry it certainly is, the very soul of poetry, unencumbered with the mechanism of metrical arrangement. And yet the disposition of the words is not slovenly nor inartificial; on the contrary, it is for the most part highly artistic, as well as exquisitely melodious. The effect of this arrangement is felt in the original to suggest a fulness and richness of meaning not always to be found in a translation. As an example, we may compare the English paragraph: "When thou didst undertake to deliver man," &c. with the Latin: "Tu ad liberandum suscepturus hominem"—where, if we should read "suscepturus ad liberandum" we should not only impair the rhythm, but also impoverish the sense, and produce a solecism in the

grammar: whereas the collocation “suscepturus hominem,” compared with such examples as “suscepit imperium,—legationem,” &c. directs us to the apostolic declaration, “He took not on him angels, but the seed of Abraham”—a phrase denoting the Jews, or a Jew, therefore a man, “hominem,” and in the language of our hymn we might render the words “Non angelos sed hominem suscepit.” As “suspexit,” he looked up, “suspendit,” he hanged up, “sustinuit,” he upheld—so “suscepit,” he took up, or took upon him, man—not merely as a burden is taken upon the shoulders, but man’s form and nature—a man’s shoulders to feel the burden—a man’s heart to throb with the anguish of man’s woe—a man’s eyes to weep tears of deeper

pathos than man ever felt—a man's blood to be shed—and a man's "foul to be made an offering for man's sin."\* The object to be accomplished is man's deliverance, or our deliverance: "ad liberandum [eum, nos, or hominem" understood]. Of the annexed translations some supply the ellipsis; others express the full sense without any supplement. Not one of them acknowledges the arrangement "suscepturus ad liberandum"—undertake to deliver. Some French versions are guilty of a glaring ana-

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\* In the same sense an able expounder of the views of Ambrose and Augustine, concerning the Eucharist, uses the verb "assumere." Nondum hominem assumerat, nondum pro salute mundi mortem degustaverat, nondum sanguine suo nos redemerat, &c. (The very order observed in our Hymn.)—*Ratramnus De Corpore et Sanguine Domini. N. 25.*

chronism in rendering *virginis*, “ de la Vierge,” of *the* virgin ; but that of Paris 1750—“ d’une Vierge.” No translator of the Bible would make Isaiah say : “ Behold the virgin shall conceive, &c.” The hymn here, like the prophecy, refers to the incarnation of the Saviour as an event to be accomplished, and to the future mother as not yet defined.

A similar concentration of ideas, and suggestive arrangement of words, may be observed in the clause “ Te martyrum candidatus laudat exercitus.”—Martyrs clothed in white,\* (Rev. vi. 11 ; vii. 9. 13), praising or serving the heavenly King (vii. 15),

---

\* Eblanche, enblanchie,—i, *Fr.* Qu ? “ bright-robed,” *Ger.* 1502, scheinber,—*Theodisk*, kaffconnot, *A.-S.* scyned and scinende, shining. Compare Mat. xvii. 2. Mar. ix. 3. 1 Jo. iii. 2.

and a host of them so employed, that is, “a great multitude which no man could number.” Rhythmically viewed it contains that mixture of the trochaeus with the iambus, which effectually excludes it from every species of verse, and may be defined, “sesquimetrum trochaicum inter duo metra iambica insertum.”\*

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\* Probably it was to avoid the jingle of a Sapphic close that the arrangement “Sanctum quoque Paracletum Spiritum” was adopted, not, as we should expect, Spiritum Paracletum; which, like the modern Gloria numerari, would be an exact parallel to—

Ulti-  
mosque Britannos.

CATULL. x. 11, 12.

For though, in metrical hymns of a later date, Paracletus or Paraclito, principibus, perpetuum, &c. stand parallel to sanctissimus, loquamini, &c. as iambic *metra*, the well known

Veni Creator Spiritus,  
entitled Hymnus S. Ambrosii, gives the ac-

But exquisite as this appears in its arrangement, both for the sense and the rhythm, it is far surpassed by a subsequent paragraph :—

“ *Aeterna fac cum sanctis tuis gloria munerari.*” Here we have the closing dichoraeus or trochaic metre, preceded by an iambic metre, before which is another trochaic metre introduced by three spondees : *Oratio numerosa quidem, sed a versu satis abhorrens* ; as *Quintilian* or *Cicero* might have called it. For the collocation, it commences with the awfully emphatic adjective “ *aeterna*,” and the directing verb “ *fac* :”

---

cent according to the proper quantity :

*Qui Paraclétus diceris.*

The doxology, containing the line :

*Sancto simul Parac'leto,*

must have been added by a later hand.

each having its counterpart in the conclusion, “gloria” fixing the case, gender, and number of “aeterna,” its own case fixed by “munerari,” an infinitive governed by the introductory verb. This is the *fatx* or main proposition: Make them to be gifted with eternal glory. The *zufatx* or adverbial clause, “cum sanctis tuis,” is judiciously inserted in the middle, without any syntactical dependence upon any word of the main proposition. “Bestow upon them, together with thy saints, everlasting glory.” Yet in both parts every word is fixed by immutable laws: we can no more separate “tuis sanctis” from each other, or from “cum,” than “aeterna gloria” from “munerari,” or this from “fac.” Whatever attempts have been made to derange

the structure, corrupt the words, or pervert the sense of this beautiful and noble petition, the original form, as here exhibited, is attested by evidence extending at least a thousand years back. Printed editions bring it down past the middle of the seventeenth century. Neither prints, nor manuscripts, nor translations, show the least sign of variation till very near the close of the fifteenth. Of all the MSS. which have been consulted for this work, amounting to nearly twenty, and ranging from the eighth or ninth to the sixteenth centuries, only one of the latest—probably copied from a printed edition—contains the interpolation “*in gloria munerari*:” \* another—a wretched speci-

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\* All conjecture may be superseded by the assumption of a fact, upon the authority of a



men of penmanship, said to be of the fifteenth century, has the interpolation; but whether the last word be “munerari,” or, as it unaccountably and absurdly appears in some printed editions, “numerari,” the most experienced eye cannot determine. It belongs to the set called “In usum Sarum,” of which denomination a long series of Breviaria, (of the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries) collated in the King’s Library, shews no variation in this paragraph.

But almost coeval with the manuscript evidence for the true reading,

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copious induction—the scribe happened to look a little too high—at, *in gloria patris* of a preceding paragraph. So *qui sanat* (for *replet*), psalm ciii. in the “Offices of the canonical Hours,” p. 173. Edit. 1849—corrected from the Latin Vulgate. Such clerical errors are quite familiar to collators of MSS.

is an erroneous interpretation of “munerari” (from *munus* a present, a gift) by confounding it with the compound *remunerari*, as if we should make no distinction between “form and reform, ply and reply, generate and regenerate,” &c.\* This may have combined with the clerical error, or ambiguous handwriting, of some transcriber, in corrupting the original reading. But whatever may have

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\* The association “*munus*, *munerari*, munificence,” is enough to shake the confidence with which some schools, upon the doubtful authority of dictionaries, resound “*munerari* to reward.” So far from being synonymous, many of the *re-* compounds reverse the meaning of the simple verb; as *retego*, I uncover, from *tego*, I cover; *velo*, I veil, *revelo*, I reveal (re-veil), or unveil. With almost equal propriety may *remunerari*, to reward, be viewed as the opposite of *munerari* (or *munerare*), to bestow freely.

been its influence in leading to a change of the text, the idea of being remunerated or rewarded seems to have run parallel to that of being presented or gifted, during seven centuries at the least. “Lônôt,” in the language which renders “remunerator,” *lonari*, and “munus” *kifti*, leaves no room for doubt respecting the sense attached to *munerari*. On the other hand, “gelâcad” and “forgifen,” in a language which gives “lâc” and “gifu” for *munus* or *donum*, and “gelacige mid eadigum gifum” for “Donis beatis muneret,” afford a double testimony in favour of the true interpretation. Compare the Theodisk and Anglo-Saxon Glosses. A few centuries later we see a counterchange; the high German gives “begabet,” from *gabe*, a gift;

the English, “our reward may be.” And a manuscript of the thirteenth century exhibits two French versions, of which the one gives “doner,” the other “guerdone.” These various renderings are the more worthy of notice, that, though differing from each other, they combine their whole forces in favour of the original “munerari.”

A singular liability to misrepresentation seems to have attended this word: the beautiful MS. Arundel 60 preserves, in characters as distinct as modern typography, “munerari,” interlined or overwritten with the gloss “beon gelacad:” in the great folio dictionary of Lye and Manning this is quoted, “Gelacod beon. Numerari: Te Deum.”—That the pious and learned framers of the Li-

turgy in the sixteenth century took the text as they found it already printed in England, instead of consulting original MSS. or collating foreign editions, such as the Venetian Breviary of 1550, &c. is matter of regret, not of reproach; and still less reason why we should suppress the indestructible truth, and content ourselves with a poor substitute for so noble an original.

The phrase, “ numbered with thy saints,” in the sense usually and naturally attached to it, is not supported even by the spurious reading upon which it was founded: for, though we should waive the objection, insuperable as it is, arising from the collocation of the words, the Latin, to express that sense, should have been *in sanctis*, not *cum*. Such phrases as “ in amicis numerari,” “ in sep-

tem numeratur," or "inter amicos," are employed by Cicero, and others, in a similar sense, *i. e.* to be accounted a friend, &c. which could not be expressed by "cum amicis."

The English translation chimes in with the Latin as lately remodelled in Roman Catholic Breviaries, while it jars with the form of the ancient Latin Church, as well as with the vernacular Versions of the Reformed in Germany, Denmark, Sweden, &c. "Give them the eternal glory with thy Hallows:" is the terse and pithy rendering of the Swede. The "Neu Geistreiches Handbuch, Amsterdam, 1664," contains Luther's paraphrase of the Hymn, and among "Cantica sacra veteris Ecclesiae," the Latin text in its most ancient form.\*

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\* The earliest appearance of the spurious

Thus the chain of evidence for the true reading, furnished by three witnesses, manuscript, translation, and letter-press, extends from the eighth almost to the eighteenth century; —nay, to the present day; for those versions are still used.

A tenth part of the evidence would be accounted sufficient to settle a disputed reading in any classic author.

Who was the author of “*Te Deum laudamus?*” The current opinion is that it was composed and chanted by Ambrosius, Bishop of Milan, and his convert, Augustinus, immediately after the admission of the latter to the fellowship of the Christian Church by baptism, in the year

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reading “*in gloria numerari*” (to be counted among glory), is in “*Horae,*” &c. Paris, 1492.

387. Augustinus indeed relates in his confessions, that on that occasion they sung hymns till he was affected even to tears, and I know not any hymn more likely to produce such an effect than the one under consideration. Wedded, as it has been, to congenial notes, it is quite overpowering: and the voice that can articulate the words, while the heart responds as it ought to the sentiments, must be sustained by nerves of more than ordinary firmness. But some authors treat this account as a piece of legendary lore unworthy of credit. The evidence of MSS. varies. One transcribed by Junius entitles it, *Sci. Ambrosii*. Arundel. 60, has *Sci. Vinceti Epi.* (qu? Vincentii). Others, *Niceti*; some, *S. Abundii*; also, *Sisebuti monachi*, and, *S. Sisebu-*



ti.\* But the great majority, “S. S. Ambrosii et Augustini;” or (instead of S. S. Sanctorum) “Beatorum Episcoporum.”†

Against the claims of these last it has been argued, that, as no notice of the hymn has been discovered of an earlier date than the sixth century, it is not probable that it had been composed in the fourth, and, as the first allusion to it occurs in a Gallican document, the hymn itself must

\* Abp. Usher, Dr. John Gregory, Pagius ad Baronii Hist. Eccl., Menard, Nichols' Commentary. Palmer's “Origines Liturgicae,” &c.

† The copy published by Graff, with an interlinear gloss in the middle German, gives the rubric, “Hymnus beatorum episcoporum Ambrosii et Augustini, quem cantaverunt Domino vicissim inter se pro conversione preclari doctoris et patris Augustini.—” *Diutiska*, vol. iii. pt. 3. p. 494.

have been of Gallican origin. Hilarius has been named, for one, as probably the author. Now Hilarius died in 367, that is, 20 years before the baptism of Augustinus; and if the lateness of the first notice be an argument against the existence of the hymn on the other side of the Alps 143 years before, it must tell with double weight against such existence on this side of the Alps at an earlier date. Yet this Gallican origin is said to be proved by both internal and external evidence. The external seems to be of that vague negative sort, of which a specimen is here given; and the internal, unless it be in the recent substitution "in gloria numerari," or perverse collocation, "suscepturus ad liberandum," would require more light than has yet been

thrown upon it, to render it discernible. A faith founded upon no stronger evidence might just as well fall back upon legendary lore.

Cesarius, Bishop of Arles (502-32) is said to have established his Rule in the *fifth* century, and to be the first who alludes to this Hymn. According to others it is Benedictus, commonly called St. Bennet, who, in conjunction with Terridius, a disciple of Cesarius, instituted the order of monkhood, which bears his name, in the year 530, and in his Rule enjoins the performance of "Te Deum laudamus." Now if a first allusion near the middle of the sixth century be the only ground for denying the existence of the hymn in the latter end of the fourth, the argument will have force only in case of other documents of an intermediate date,

which ought to have mentioned the hymn if it was known, having failed to mention it; and in case the writers of such documents could not fail to know it, if it was in existence. Destitute, as it is, of such support, the argument falls to the ground. But if the evidence of this first allusion is of little weight against the earlier existence of the hymn, it is decisive of its existence at a time when the Roman language was neither dead in the church, nor buried in monasteries. So that if not from a contemporary of Hieronymus, at the very latest from a contemporary of Boëthius, the accomplished author of the *Consolatio Philosophiae*, we have a right to expect tolerably good Latin, better than recent editions and some translations

represent. Such a text as they represent could not have been written by any person of credit or authority either in the fourth or fifth, or even in the sixth century.

But where or by whomsoever the hymn was composed, it bears testimony to a mind gifted with no small portion of that spirit which dictated the canonical songs, with which the *Te Deum* has been long associated. The language is such as might be expected from a contemporary of the venerable Hieronymus, whose version of the *Psalms* has furnished several paragraphs. The sentiment throughout is purely scriptural, and intensely devotional. In sublimity, it reaches the highest pitch to which Heaven has condescended to unveil its sacred mysteries: in tenderness, it whispers a dying Redeemer's love: in brilliancy,

it flashes from earth to heaven, from the extatic shouts of adoring cherubim and seraphim, to the trumpet tones of triumph over death and hell. It is this variety of detail in unity of purpose—the combination of tenderness with sublimity, the insertion of the history and cost of our redemption into the high praises of the eternal God, and specifically of our victorious Redeemer himself—that gives to this portion of Divine worship its thrilling energy to melt, to subdue, to captivate, and to overpower “both heart and mind.”

I fear most of us are too familiar with the form to be awed by its majesty, or charmed by its beauty ; but we ought to know and to feel, that it is not merely a song, but also a symbol—a rehearsal of the great articles of our belief, in a direct address

to the omniscient Object of our adoration.

The short commentary, now first published from the original manuscript, breathes an odour of sweet, humble, fervent piety; and very ingeniously connects the several paragraphs by a method of illustration and, as a musician would say, “preparation,” at once pleasing, instructive, and edifying. The author, whose name does not appear, seems, upon the whole, to have understood his subject pretty clearly, though some of the nicer touches have escaped his view: “*Suscepturus hominem*” has been passed over, and “*Gloria munerari*” misrepresented, as far as misrepresentation can be imagined practicable. After some awful notes of preparation comes “*Aeterna fac cum sanctis tuis gloria*

munerari:” ‘Ordeyne thou that oure rewarde may be with thi seyntis in everlastyng joye.’

The manuscript, a small quarto of 73 folios, vellum, is in fine preservation. It contains several pieces of a religious or moral description, and concludes with a Meditation upon the words “Da nobis auxilium de tribulatione.” This is a continuous address to the Almighty Saviour, whose praise the hymn, so neatly inserted, particularly celebrates. The original words of the Latin text, breaking in at intervals, like the staves of an old tune, “with variations,” are engrossed red, the capital or initial D, blue.

Numerous corrections and improvements, by deleting, interlining, and extending into the margin, attest the presence of the author’s own



hand and heart in the execution, and justify us in considering it an original manuscript. It is in the British Museum, Arundel Collection, 197.

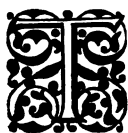
The language affords a fair specimen of the form into which our English had been moulded 400 years ago, about half way between the Norman accession and the present time. The ‘orthography’ of that age—in many instances more deserving of the name than what is now established as right writing—can present few difficulties to the generality of readers, while to the enlightened inquirer it must suggest many fresh illustrations of the true system of English philology. The former may find some help, the latter some hints, in the EXPLANATORY NOTES.



I.

LATIN [ORIGINAL].

1. *Te Deum Laudamus: From the folio edition, Paris, 1613, collated with nearly 20 ancient MSS. A.D. 800 to 1500.*



**D**E Deum Laudamus: Te Dominum confitemur.

2. Te aeternum Patrem omnis terra veneratur.
3. Tibi omnes angeli, Tibi coeli et universae potestates,
4. Tibi cherubim et seraphim incessabili voce proclamant:
5. Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus Dominus Deus Sabaoth.
6. Pleni sunt coeli et terra majestatis gloriae tuae.
7. Te gloriosus apostolorum chorus,

28      *Te Deum Laudamus.*

8. Te prophetarum laudabilis numerus,
9. Te martyrum candidatus laudat exercitus.
10. Te per orbem terrarum sancta confitetur ecclesia,
11. Patrem immensae majestatis ;
12. Venerandum tuum verum et unicum Filium ;
13. Sanctum quoque Paracletum Spiritum.
14. Tu rex gloriae, Christe.
15. Tu patris sempiternus es Filius.
16. Tu, ad liberandum, suscepturus hominem, non horruisti virginis uterum.
17. Tu, devicto mortis aculeo, aperuisti credentibus regna coelorum.
18. Tu ad dextram Dei sedes in gloria Patris.
19. Judex crederis esse venturus.
20. Te ergo quaesumus, tuis famulis subveni, quos pretioso sanguine redemisti.
21. Aeterna fac cum sanctis tuis gloria munerari.
22. Salvum fac populum tuum, Domine, et benedic haereditati tuae.
23. Et rege eos, et extolle illos usque in aeternum.
24. Per singulos dies benedicimus Te ;

*Te Deum Laudamus.* 29

25. Et laudamus nomen tuum in saeculum  
et in saeculum saeculi.

26. Dignare, Domine, die isto sine peccato  
nos custodire.

27. Misere nostri, Domine, misere nostri.

28. Fiat misericordia tua, Domine, super  
nos, quemadmodum speravimus in Te.

29. In Te, Domine, speravi ; non confun-  
dar in aeternum.

II.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION.

I.

**T**HEE as \* God we praise :  
Thee the Lord we confess.

2. Thee the everlasting Father all the earth  
worships.

3. To Thee all the angels, to Thee the  
heavens and all the powers together,

4. To Thee cherubim and seraphim with  
unceasing voice cry aloud :

---

\* The Swedish, " O Gud," would represent a " Te,  
Deus,"—not the *Te Deum*.

30      *Te Deum Laudamus.*

5. Holy, Holy, Holy *is* the Lord God of hosts !

6. Full are the heavens and the earth of the majesty of thy glory !

7. Thee the glorious band of apostles—

8. Thee the praiseworthy company of prophets—

9. Thee the white-robed host of martyrs praises.

10. Thee, throughout the globe of earth, the holy church confesses ;

11. *As* the Father, of infinite majesty ;

12. Thy adorable, true, and only Son ;

13. The Comforter also, the holy Ghost.

14. Thou *art* the king of glory, Christ.

15. Thou art the eternal Son of the Father.

16. Thou, to deliver *us*, being about to take up manhood, dreadedst\* not a virgin's womb.

17. Thou, having vanquished the sting of death, hast opened to believers the kingdoms of the heavens.

18. Thou fittest at the right *hand* of God in the glory of the Father.

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\* Nec "horret" iratum mare. HOR. epod. ii.

*Te Deum Laudamus.* 31

19. Thou art believed to be to come *as* a Judge.

20. Thee therefore we ask, help thy servants, whom Thou hast redeemed with precious blood.

21. Make *them*, with thy saints, to be gifted with everlasting glory.

22. Save thy people, Lord; and bless thy inheritance.

23. And rule them, and exalt them even to eternity.

24. Through every day we bless Thee;

25. And we praise thy name for ever and for evermore.

26. Deign, Lord, this day to keep us without sin.

27. Have mercy upon us, Lord, have mercy upon us.

28. Let thy mercy, Lord, come upon us, as we have hoped in Thee.

29. In Thee, Lord, I have hoped; I shall not be confounded to [all] eternity.

## III.

## ANOTHER TRANSLATION,

*Almost equally literal, in blank metre.\**

THEE, the *living* God we praise ;  
 Thee, the *only* Lord confess.  
 Thee, the everlasting Father,  
 All earth adores.  
 To Thee all angels, unto Thee  
 The heavens and all the powers,  
 To Thee cherubim and seraphim,  
 With unceasing voice proclaim :  
 Holy, Holy, Holy is  
 Jehovah,† God of hosts :  
 Full are the heavens, and *full* the earth  
 of thy glory's *awful* majesty.  
 Thee the glorious company of apostles  
*praiseth* ;  
 Thee the laudable number of prophets  
*praiseth* ;  
 Thee the bright-robed army of martyrs  
 praiseth.

\* Music wanted for this.

† Isa. vi. 3. Hebrew.

Thee throughout the circuit of earth  
The holy church acknowledges :  
The Father, of “unmeted” majesty ;  
To be adored Thy true and only Son ;  
The Comforter also, the Holy Ghost.  
Thou, [o] Christ, art King of glory.  
Thou art the Father’s eternal Son.  
Thou, for our deliv’rance, bent  
To take upon Thee man,  
Dreadedst not [that seal’d shrine]—

A maiden’s womb.

Thou, having overcome death’s sting,  
Hast open’d to all who believe in Thee

The kingdoms of the heavens.

Thou sitst at God’s right hand [on high]  
In glory of the Father.

As Judge Thou art believed to come ;

Thee therefore we beseech,

Succour thy servants, whom Thou hast

With “dearworth” blood redeem’d.

Make them, with thy saints, to be

With everlasting glory gifted.

Make “hale” thy people, Lord ;

And blest thy heritage.

And govern them, and lift them up

Unto eternity.



34      *Te Deum Laudamus.*

Throughout each day we bleſs Thee,  
 And praife thy name for ever,  
 And for evermore.  
 Deign, Lord, this day from fin to guard us.  
 [Mercy,] Lord, have mercy on us ;  
 Have mercy on us, [Lord] !  
 Lord, let thy mercy be on us,  
 As we have hop'd in Thee.  
 In thee, Lord, I have hop'd :  
 I ſhall not be confounded  
 For evermore ! \*

IV.

ANGLO-SAXON.

*From MSS. Arundel. No. 60.*

1. þe God we heriaþ. þe Drihten we an-  
 dettaþ.
2. þe ecan Fæder eal eorþe arwurþað.
3. þe ealle englas, þe heofonas and ealle  
 mihta,

---

\* See Note to the Rhythmical Arrangement.

*Te Deum Laudamus.* 35

4. þe cherubin and seraphin unablinndre  
stæfne foreclīpaþ :

5. Halig, Halig, Halig Drihten God Sa-  
baoth !

6. Fulle sind heofonas and eorþan mægen-  
þrymmes wuldres þines.

7. þe se wuldorfulles apostola heap,

8. þe witegena hergendlice getæl,

9. þe þara martira þæt scinenda heriaþ  
wered.

10. þe þurh ymbhwirfte eorðan seo halige  
andettaþ gelaþung.

11. Fæder ormætes mægenþrymmes.

12. Tarwurþienne þinne þone soþan and  
þone ancænnedan Sunu.

13. Haligne witodlice frofor Gast.

14. þu cininc wuldre, Crist.

15. þu þam Fæder ece (þu) eart Sunu.

16. þu to alifenne (þu) andfengo manna, þu  
na aþracodest mædenes innoþes.

17. þu oferfwiþdest deaþ[-es] sticcelse, þu  
geopenodest geleaffullan rice heofonas.

18. þu on þare fwiðran healfe Godes sitst  
on wuldre Fæderes.

19. Dema þu eart gelifed beon towerd.

20. þe eornostlice we alsiaþ, þinum þeow-

36      *Te Deum Laudamus.*

an gehelp, þa þam deorwurðan blode þu alif-  
dest.

21. þam ecan do mid halgum þinum wuldre  
beon gelacad.

22. Hal do þu folc þin, Drihten, and gebletsa  
yrfewardnesse þine.

23. And begim hig, and beheald hig oþ on  
ecnesse.

24. þurh findrige dagas we bletsiaþ þe ;

25. And we heriaþ naman þinne on worlde  
and on worlda world.

26. Drihten, dæge þisum buton finne us ge-  
healde.

27. Mildsa ure, Drihten, mildsa ure.

28. Sy mildheortnys þin, Drihten, ofer us,  
on þam gemete we hihtaþ on þe.

29. On þe, Drihten, ic hihte : na ic beo gef-  
cynded on ecnesse.

V.

ANGLO-SAXON.

*From MSS. Cotton. Vespasian, A. i.*

1. Ðe God we heriað : þe Drihten we andettað.
2. Ðe æcne Fæder eal eorðe wurðað.
3. Ðe ealle englas, þe heofenas and ealle anwealdu,
4. Ðe cherubin and seraphin unablinnendlicre stefne clypað :
5. Halig, halig, halig Drihten God wereda !
6. Fulle sýnd heofenas and eorðe mægenþrymmes wuldres þines.
7. Ðe wuldorful erndracena wered,
8. Ðe witegena hergendlic getel,
9. Ðe cyðra scýned herað here.
10. Ðe þurh embhwyrft eorðena halig andet gesamnung :
11. Fæder ormætes mægenþrymmes ;
12. Arwurþne þinne soðne and anlicne Sunu ;
13. Haligne witodlice frefrigendne Gast.

38      *Te Deum Laudamus.*

14. Ðu cyning wuldres, Crist.
15. Ðu Fæderes ece (þu) eart Sunu.
16. Ðu to alyfenne (þu) anfenge mann, þu  
ne ascunedast fæmnan innað.
17. Ðu, oferfwiðedum deaðes angan, (þu)  
anlyfdest gelyfedum ricu heofena.
18. Ðu on þa fwiðran healfe Godes sitst on  
wuldre Fæderes.
19. Dema þu eart gelyfed wefan toward.
20. Ðe eornostlice we halsiað, þinum þeow-  
um gehelp, þa of deorwurðum blode þu  
alyfdest.
21. Ece do mid halgum þinum wuldor beon  
forgyfen.
22. Hal do folc þin, and bletsa yrfeweard-  
nyffe þine.
23. And gerece hy, and upahof hy oð on  
ecnysse.
24. Ðurh syndrige dagas we bletsiað þe ;
25. And we heriað naman þinne on woruld  
and á woruld.
26. Gemedema dæge þisum buton synne us  
gehealdan.
27. Gemiltfa ure, Drihten, gemiltfa ure.
28. Sy mildheortnys þin ofer us, Drihten,  
swa swa we hyhtað on þe.

*Te Deum Laudamus.* 39

29. On þe, Drihten, ic hihte : ic ne beo  
gefcynded on ecnyffe.

VI.

OLD HIGH GERMAN.

(*Grimm*, 1830.)

I.

**T**HIH Cot lopemes : Thih Truhtan ge-  
hemes.

2. Thih ewigan Fater eokiwelih erda wirdit.  
(eret.)

3. Thir alle engila, Thir himila inti allo ki-  
waltido.

4. Thir cherupim inti seraphim unbiliban-  
licheru ftimmi forharent :

5. Wiher, wiher, wiher Truhtin Cot  
Herro.

6. Fulliu fint himila inti erda thera megin-  
chrefti tiurida thinera.

7. Thih tiurlicher potono cuort,

8. Thih wizagono loplichiu ruana,

9. Thih urchundono kafconnot lobot heri :

40      *Te Deum Laudamus.*

10. Thih thurah umbiwurft erdono wihiu  
gihit famanunga :

11. Fater ungimezenera meginchrefti ;

12. Erhaften thinan waran [inti] einagan  
Sun ;

13. Wihan auch troft Athum.

14. Thu chuninc thera tiurida, Chrift.

15. Thu Fateres fimbliger pift Sun.

16. Thu za arlofanne antfiengi mannan, ni  
leitlichetos thera mageti ref.

17. Thu kerihremo (ubarwunnemo) todes  
angule, intati calaupentem richi himilo.

18. Thu za zefwun Cotes fizis in tiurida  
Fateres.

19. Suanari [za] kalaupanne pift wefan  
chumftiger.

20. Thih avur pittemes thinem fchalchun  
hilf, thea tiuremo pluote archauftos.

21. Ewegero tua mit wihem thinem tiurida  
lonot [wefan].

22. Kehaltan tua folch (liut) thinuz, Truh-  
tin ; inti sekano erbe thinemu.

23. Inti rihti fie, inti erhevi fie unzi in ewin.

24. Thurah einluze taga welaquhedemes  
Thih ;

25. Inti lobemes naman thinan in weralti  
inti in weralti weralti.

*Te Deum Laudamus.* 41

26. Kiwerdo Truhtin tage defämo ana funta  
unfih kihaltan.

27. Milti unfer, Truhtin, milti unfer.

28. Si miltida thiniu ubar unfih thiu mezu  
wantumes in thih.

29. In Thih, Truhtin, wanta ; ni fi kisken-  
dit in ewin.

VII.

HIGH GERMAN.

*From a Psalter, printed at Basil, A. D. 1502.*

I.

**W**IR loben dich Got : wir bekennen dich  
Her.

2. Alle erd eret dich ewigen Vater.

3. Alle engel, dye himeln vnd alle gewalt  
schreyen zu dir.

4. Cherubin vnd seraphin mitt vnauffhö-  
render stimme fürsichreyen zu dir :

5. Hailiger, Hailiger, Hailiger Her Gott  
Sabaoth.

6. Die himeln vnd erde sind vol deyner  
großmechtigen ere.



42      *Te Deum Laudamus.*

7. Der erwidig cor der zwelf botten lobt dich :

8. Die lobliche zal der propheten lobet dich.

9. Die scheinber schar der martrer lobet dich.

10. Die hailig kirch bekennt dich durch den vmbkraifz der erde.

11. Ain Vater der vngemeffen maiestat.

12. Deinen wirdigen waren vnd eingebornen Sun ;

13. Vnd den Tröster den hailigen Gaist.

14. Du Gesalbter ain künig der ere.

15. Du bist des Vatters ain ewiger Sun.

16. Du zu erlösung an dich zenemen den menschen, hast nit verschmecht den leib der iunkfrawen.

17. Du von überwindung des todes hast auffgethan den glaubigen die reich der himeln.

18. Du sitzest zu der gerechte Gottes in der ere des Vatters.

19. Du bist glaubet zesein ain künftiger richter.

20. Darvmb bitten wir dich, komme zehilf dinen dienern, die Du mit dem kostberlichen pluot erlöset hast.

21. Haifz sy begabet werden, mit den hailigen, mit der ewigen ere.

*Te Deum Laudamus.* 43

22. Herr mach hailſam dein volch ; vnd geſegne dein erbtail.

23. Vnd regiere ſie, vnd erheb die ſelben untz ewiglich.

24. Wir geſegnen dich durch ieglichen tag ;

25. Vnd wir loben dein namen in die welt vnd in di welt der welt.

26. Herr genedige vns in diſem tag zebehüten ön ſünd.

27. Herr erbarme dich vnſer ; erbarme dich vnſer.

28. Herr, dein barmhertzigkait werde über vns, als wir behofft haben in dich.

29. Herr, ich hab gehofft in dich : ich wird nitt geſchent ewiglich.

VIII.

SWEDISH [MODERN].

I.

**O** GUD! wi loſwe dig : O Herre! wi tacke dig.

2. Dig ewige Fader wördar hela werlden.

3. Dig priſa alle Anglur, Himlar, och alle kraftur.

#### 44      *Te Deum Laudamus.*

4. Dig prisfa Cherubim och Seraphim, siungande utan aonda :

5. Helig, Helig, Helig Herr Gud Zebaoth.

6. Fulle äro himlarne och jorden af dit Majestät och härlighet.

7. Dig lofwa och prisfa alle helge Apostlar.

8. Deslikes lofwa dig alle helge Propheter.

9. Sammalunda lofwa dig alle helge Martyrer.

10, 11. Den helga Kyrka i hela werlden bekenndig för en alsmäktig Fader.

12. Och din enfödda son den mid dig hafwer fannan Gudom.

13. Deslikes Hugswalaren den Helga Aonda.

14. Du, Christe, arones Konnung.

15. Fadrens Son äft du i ewighet.

16. Till människones forlosning togst du i Jungfru lifwe mandom.

17. Du oferwann döden, och uplät himmelen för de trogna.

18. Du sitter pao Guds högra hand i Fadrens härlighet.

19. Dödan igen kommande til at döma lefwande och döda.

20. Ty beöja wi dig at du hjälper dina tjenare, som du med dit dyra blod aoterlöft.

*Te Deum Laudamus.* 45

21. Och gifwer dem den ewiga härligheten med din Helgom.

22. O Herre! fräfs dit folk, och wälsegna din arfwe-del.

23. Och regera dem, och uphög dem i ewighet.

24. Herre Gud, wi lofwe dig alla dogu,

25. Och prise dit naman i fraon ewighet til ewighet.

26. Beware ofs, Herre, i denna dag, at wi icke göre emot din wilja.

27. Förbarma dig öfwer ofs, O Herre! Och war ofs barmhertig.

28. Ware din barmhertighet öfwer ofs, såsom wi pao dig hoppas.

29. Pao dig hoppas wi, O Herre! Lat ofs icke komma pao skam til ewig tid.

IX.

OLD FRENCH [OR NORMAN].

*From MSS. Harl. 1770.*

1.

**N**OUS te loums Deu : Tei Sire, nus rege-  
hissums.

2. Tute terre honure tei, pardurable Pere.

46      *Te Deum Laudamus.*

3. A tei crient touz les angeles : a tei crient les ciels e totes les poeſtez.

4. A tei crient cherubin et ſeraphin od nun ceſſable voice :

5. Seint eſt, Seint eſt, Seint eſt Deu li Sire de Sabaoth.

6. Pleins ſunt les ciels e la terre de la maieſte de ta glorie.

7. Tei loe la gloriuſe compagnie des Apoſteles.

8. Tei loe la loable nombre des prophetes.

9. Tei loet des martiris eblanche oſt.

10. Tei regehiſt par le cercle des terres ſaint eglise :

11. Pere de grant maieſte.

12. A honurer tun ueir e qi eſt uniel Fiz.

13. A certes le Saint Epirit.

14. Tu es, Criſt, rei de glorie.

15. Tu ies durable Fiz del Pere.

16. Tu ki eſteiez a deliurer a receiure home, ne creunſis le ventre de la uirgine.

17. Tu deuencut de mort le anguilun, a ouris as creanz les regnes des ciels.

18. Tu ſiez a la deſtre de Deu, en glorie del Perre.

19. Tu ies creuz iugier [eſtre avenir].

*Te Deum Laudamus.* 47

20. Par ceo te prium focur a tes ferganz, les queles tu raunfis de tun precius sanc.

21. Fai nus od tes sainz honurer de durable glorie.

22. Sauf fai tun puple, Sire ; e benei a ta heredite.

23. E gouerne eus, e esdresce eus iusq, a la durablete.

24. Par sengles iurs te beneistrums :

25. E loums tun nun au siecle, e au siecle del siecle.

26. Sire, deigne nus garder e en icest iour sanz peche.

27. Merci aies de nus, Sire : aies de nus merci.

28. Seit fet ta misericorde, Sire, sur nus, ficome esperames en tei.

29. En tei, Sire, esperai ; ne ferrai confondu durablement.

## X.

## OLD FRENCH.

*In Verse. From MSS. Harl. 273.*

1. **T**OI Sire Deu nus louoms.  
Tei Seignur regeioms
2. Tei Pere pardurable la terre honore.
3. Et ciel et angles en lur nature.
4. Cherubin et seraphin en chantont  
Crient sanz fin et front :
5. Seint tu es, tu es seint,  
Seint Sire Deu omnipotent.
6. Ciel et tere ont a plente  
De gloire et de maïste
7. Des apostles la compainie,
8. Des prophetes la prophetie,
9. Escheles des martirs enblanchie,  
En vus loent la feignorie.
10. Par tot le monde seint eglise  
Tei regeit et tei prise.
11. Pere te tint de grant poer ;
12. Et ton fiz vont honorer ;
13. Le Seint Espirit vont amer.

14. Tu es rei de gloire sire Jhesu Crist.
15. Tu es fiz a Pere qe ia ne finist.
16. Tu pur home deliuerer humanite recustes ;  
Et de ventre virginal enpouri ne fustes.
17. En le gref anguilon de la mort venqis ;  
Et le regne celestien a creanz oueriz.
18. Tu a destre ton Pere en gloire es affis ;
19. Et creum qe en la fin vendras fere iuys.
20. Pur ce Sire te prium pur tote ta meine,  
Qe de sanc preciose cher as achete.
21. Fetes nus doner ouek seinz  
Durable gloire de viure einz.
22. Ettreez nus ta benefoun,  
Et a ton people saluation.
23. Par tei seient gouvernez,  
Et a toz iours enhauciez.
24. Chacun iour te benefquium,
25. Et toz iors loum ton noun.
26. Deignez nus hui tel iour  
Des pechez garder, cher Seignor.
27. Merci, Sire, te priom ;  
Qe merci en tei trouer pussum.
28. Sire, ta merci grantez nus,  
Sicum nus esperun en vus.
29. Qe ia confúndu ne seiom ;  
Car en tei, Sire, esperum.



XI.

ANOTHER TRANSLATION.

*In prose. From the same MS.*

I.

**T**OI Deu louoms : Toi Sire regeifons.

2. Toi pardurable Piere tote tere honore.

3. A toi touz les angles : a toi les ciels et totes poestes :

4. A toi cherubin et seraphin par nent cefable voiz crient :

5. Seint, Seint, Seint, Li Sire Deu de Sabaut :

6. Plein sunt les ciels et la tere de la maieſte de ta gloire.

7. Toi la glorioſe compaignie des apoſtles :

8. Toi le louable nombre de prophetes :

9. Toi le enblanchi oſt des martirs loue.

10. Toi par la rondeſce des teres ſeint eglise regeit :

11. Pere de grant maieſte :

*Te Deum Laudamus.* 51

12. A honorer ton verrai et un foul Fiz :
13. Seint a certes confortable Espirit.
14. Tu roi de gloire Crist.
15. Tu Piere pardurable estes Fiz.
16. Tu a receiure le home a deliuerer ne enerdistes la ventre de la uirgine.
17. Tu de vencue de mort la cruelete ; oueristes a creans les regnes des ciels.
18. Tu a destre de Deu seez : en la gloire de Piere.
19. Jugeor estes creuz estre auenir.
20. Toi donques requerrons a tes serianz recoure lesquels par ton precieuse sanc rechatas.
21. Fetes par pardurable gloire oue tes Seinz estre guerdones.
22. Sauf fetes ton people, Sire : et beneiez a ton heritage.
23. Et gouvernez euz et endrechez euz iesqves en parmainablete.
24. Par toz iorz beneifons toi :
25. Et louons ton non en siecle et en siecle du siecle.
26. Deinez, Sire, en ceste ior sanz peche nos garder.
27. Merci eiez de nus, Sire : merci eiez de nus.

52      *Te Deum Laudamus.*

28. Seit fete ta misericorde, Sire, fur nus, ficum nus esperames en toi.

29. En toi, Sire, esperai : ne ferrai confundu en parmainablete.

XII.

A MEDITATION.

*From MSS. Arundel 197.*

**D**A nobis auxilium de tribulatione.\* Lorde, graunte us helpe in oure tribulacion. Y haue ofte in my mynde thought y wolde y were deliuerid fro tribulacions ; and y can not ; but they falle in on euery fide, thorow vnstedfastnes of us frael pepul : and oure daijs wereþe and freteþe away as ruste wereþe stile ; or as a mothþe freteþ cloth : as Iob sethe : Consumendus sum quasi vestimentum quod comeditur a tineā.† And so not withstandynge al þes tribulacions on þe to fide, yet cursid pride, þat is in þe worlde, angur, envy, with vnchariteful

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\* Psalm lx. (Lat. v. lix.) 11.    † [Job], cap. xiii. 8.

speche, fretethe as a file, and ingendreþe grete tribulacion on þe toþer; and also þe moþþis of flewthe, þat flepyngli gnawethe, bi foule vnlusti thoughttis, and wastinge of oure time, and shewynge of faynyd holynes, on þe toþor side to: and this oure wittis beþe doublid and clofid fro parfite prayfynge; and oure Lorde is sette a side fro his worþi worshippinge.

Nou, Lorde of loue, and Maister of mercyes, þou seydis onis, and so it is: *Omnia mihi tradita sunt*: Alle thinges bene takynge to me of my Fadur.\* Then one thyng y aske, Lorde, of þe: of þi meke charite, Da nobis *auxilium de tribulacione*: Graunte us helpe in oure tribulacion. Wake ouer us, Lorde; for but if þou wake, we slepe in deþe, and oure deuocion dieþe: And if þou calle not euer on us with þi benefittis, we falle fro oure feyþe, as fyndis. And þerfor, Lorde, a wise waker, calle us fro alle tribulacion; and amonge alle oþer specialli to calle on me in my tribulacion, as Iob seþe: *Vocabis me, et ego respondebo tibi*: And y shalle aunswere to þe. O my soule, what aunswere canste þou geue? What is þi desire?

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\* Matt. xi. 27.

54 *Te Deum Laudamus.*

Truly y desire as nou nothings ellis, but þat y might geue to my Lorde his oune gode, þat he haþe lent me : þat is to sey my body, my tyme, and alle my wyttis, with the increse of loue-longynge, and parfite prayfinge ; and so to reſte in hym, to cleue to hym, reioyſingli to vndurſtande þe holi wille of hym.

And þerfor ye bodely wittis, þat beþe ſo beſtely, and fallinge to filþe as folis, haſte you to þe olyfe-tre, Criſte Iheſu, þat ſeyþe : Ego oliua ſpecioſa in campis, and gedur of him oyle of honeſte in þe lampis of youre laboris : as þou þat wantonly wandriſte, and meruillift on þe made mirrore of þe worlde ; refrayne þi revelte, and a beye to reſon, þat is þe firſte witte of þe ſoule ; aſtur þe apoſtolus confelle, ſeynge : Racionabile fiat obſequium veſtrum : Lete youre beſines be reſonabul.

Thoffe here before þou haſte be recheles and forgeteful of many gode thingis, obeye þe to þe ſeconde witte of þe ſoule, þat is mynde ; and thinke þat þe gode pepul in erþe ſhal be in euerlaſtinge mynde here aſtur ; as þe prophete ſeþe : In memoria eterna erunt iuſti.

Thou noſe, þat likeſte luſteli ſwete ſmellis and oþer ſwetnes outwarde, confurme þe to þe

thirde witte of þi soule, þat is vndur standynge; and as þou arte konnyng to vndurstande, by smellynge, gode fro eville, so pray þi Lorde devoutly, and sey: Da mihi intellectum, ut discam mandata tua: Geue me vndurstandynge to knowe þi commaundementtis.

Thou mouþe, desirus of delicate metis, take hede of þe fourþe witte of þi soule, þat is callid godewille; for þi tendur lovyng Lorde shewethe þe his gode wille largeli; þat bi fide al his oþer benefetis, þis graciufly hathe callid þe to his holi vyneyarde, by fore thoufandis of oþer pepul, þat leuethe in þe worlde in grete miseri and punery. Ther for loke up lusteli, as þou hafte grete cause, and sey þes wordis with þe prophete Davethe: Gustate et videte quam suavis est Dominus: Taste wel þes wordis with þe wyttis of þi gode wille, and se how swete þi Lorde God shulde euermore be to þe.

Thou felling, þat arte þe common seruant to euery leme of þe body, reste þe sum tyme by þe fiftte witte of þi soule, þat is ymaginacion, felynge what payne þi Lorde, ouer alle in his body, felte for þe. And so sese þou of þi wildenes, by loue longynge aftur þi Lordde; ac-

56      *Te Deum Laudamus.*

cordynge to þe apostillus seynge : Delectare in Domino, et dabit tibi petitiones cordis tui : Delite in þi Lorde, and he shal geue þe þe askynge of þi herte.\*

And þus ye bodely wittis, and ye gostly wittis to, when ani disseise comeþe to you, then crie ye to hym, seynge : Da nobis auxilium de tribulacione : Grauntt us helpe euer in al oure tribulacion.

And so by one assente prayse we þe Lorde, maker of us and of al thinge. Ther for mekely sey we

*Te Deum laudamus* : The God we prayse. But to speke mich of this Godhed y dar not presume : for syn y cannot preue nor conseue þe hidde workis, þat þou haste made in a creatur, what shulde y say to þe, Maker, þat is Creator ? For al þe filosofris, þat had laborid in diuerse sciens, as in grammer, logeke, rethoreke, museke, astronomy, al they preuid by reson in þer faculteis, til they come to one poynte, þat was prima causa ; and þer they stode stille, and coude procede no farther. And þerfor þat firste cause might welle be callid a God. And

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\* Ps. xxxvii. (l. v. xxxvi.) 4. See Notes.

so we to þe same firſte cauſe, þat cauſethe al thingis to haue his beyng, ſey *Te Deum laudamus* : The God we prayſe, þat arte ſo curius a maker, by diuerſiteis in alle thingis. Therfor,

*Te Dominum confitemur* : We knoliche þe a Lorde, þat of euery thinge arte ſo wiſe a diſpoſer, and ſo nobul a keper. And not only we with oure wittis prayſe þe, but alſo,

*Te eternum Patrem omnis terra veneratur* : Alle þe regions of erþe worſhippeþe þe [the] euerlaſtyng Fadre.

In this name erþe, we may vnderſtande thre placis : the firſte is þe erþe of leuyng folkis, þat is þe bliſſe of heuene, as Davethe ſeythe : *Credo videre bona Domini in terra viuencium* : I hope to ſe þe godenes of oure Lorde in þe erþe of quicke pepul.

The ſeconde erþe is þe erþe of dyinge folkis, þat is this worlde here, where we alle ſhal yelde oure bodijs to þe bitternes of deþe ; as holy chirche accordyng to þe ſame ſeþe : *Media vita in morte ſumus* : In the middul lyfe we be in deþe.

The thirde is þe erþe of orebul deþe, þat is callid *terra mortis* ; and this is the pitte of helle ; where life is dyingly, and dieþe neuer,



58 *Te Deum Laudamus.*

but leueþe euer dyinge. And of this place holi churche criethe to God, þat oure soulis come not þer ; feynge *Libera nos* : Lorde deliuer me fro euerlastinge deþe ! For alle þes erþis, Lorde, beþe þi placis ; and to þe they offereþe reuerens, in tokyngè þat oure praysynge shulde be the strongur for þem. And what quicke folke beþe they, þat praysethe þe most ? For soþe,

*Omnes angeli, tibi celi et uniuerse potestates :*  
Alle angelus, whos nature is incorruptibul. Thes angelus beþe sette in nyne ordris, and thre cherarchies or estatis. And al þes beþe callid þe sonis of God. In þe firste cherarchie beþe angelus, archangelus, and virtutes ; in þe seconde, principales, potestates, and dominaciones ; and in þe thirde beþe trones, cherubyn, and seraphyn. And al thes at onis

*Incessabili voce proclamant,*—Cryinge and feynge : Sanctus otheos, Holy God in þi selfe, in þi angelus, and glorified soulis ; sanctus yskiros, Holi Lord in heuenly creaturis, as þe sunne, mone, sterris, planetis and wyndis ; Sanctus athanatos, Holy vndedely, a genifte oure bodely deþe, agenifte oure gostely deþe, and a genifte þe deþe of helle. And yet aboue al

*Te Deum Laudamus.* 59

þes, in oure ymaginacion, þou arte Dominus dominancium, Lorde of lordis, Deus deorum, God of goddis, and Sabaoth, mightti Ledur of oftis; and meny mo. And þer for þi high mighte is so vnspēkabul, þat no tonge can expresse hit; but

*Pleni sunt celi et terra magestatis glorie tue:*  
Heuenis and erþe beþe fillid with þi might. And þat causeþe gladly þat men leueþe þer owne wille, to folow mekely þi wille; as dede the holi apostolus,

*Gloriosus apostolorum chorus,* whom þou madiste souereyne prechoris, þat conuertid pepul and kyngdomis to þi lawe; amonge whom thou haste ordeynid þe holy compani of prophetis to be

(*Te prophetarum laudabilis numerus*) as glorius for[e]goinge spekeris of þi wondur workis; to whom þou haste geue þi knolige and connyng; sum in slepyng, sum in childehode, sum in age, sum in þer modur wombe, sum in grete trauele, and sum in grete anguisshe: and yett alwey þei ioyed in þe. And so also,

*Te martirum candidatus laudat exercitus:*  
The holi company of martiris prayse þe, offryng to þe the redde blode of þer turmentis,

60      *Te Deum Laudamus.*

with grete study to menteyne þi lauis, and do as dede confessoris with þer wilful clennes in al þer workis ; and virgenis also. And as al þes ioyeþe by fore þe by contynual prayfinge, in þe high chirche of glory, on like wyfe we, to oure poure,

(*Te per orbem terrarum sancta confitetur ecclesia*) to þe geue prayfinge by alle þe worlde, as fightyng chirche in erþe ; as laboreris, crafty men, marchantis, knightis, iugis, kyngis, religiis, low curatis, and high prelatis. Al we fey þou arte thre personis, and one God, ande

(*Patrem immense maiestatis*) Fadur of þe higheste mageste ; þat haste with þe euerlastyngely

*Venerandum tuum verum et unicum Filium*, and only Sone worshipful and trewe. And of yow to\* comethe þe same God in poure, mageste, and euene hede, þat oure feith calleþe

*Sanctum quoque paracletum Spiritum*, and holy ande cuimfortabul Sprete.

But for as much as nature loueþe moste that thinge þat haþe moste likenes to hym†, as it shewethe by euery beste þat hathe life ; on

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\* Two.      † Itself. See Notes.

þe same wise we se more verili, by fore þe Fadur and þe holy Goste, lickenes and conueniensi in þe, Lorde Ihesu ; and in þi meny folde godenes and benefetis þou haste cherished us. þerfor, in prayfinge, to þe specialli we sey

*Tu rex glorie Criste :* Thou, Criste, Kynge of glory. And not a kynge newe bigunne, as erthely kyngis and mortal be in erþe, but

*Tu Patris sempiternus es Filius :* Thou arte þe euerlastinge Sone of þe Fadur, þat bygate þe 'withoute begynnyng of tyme, or endyng. And also þou arte þe Sone of þe maydyn Marie, and of her ymade man, and borne in a gracijs tyme for us.

Thes grete benefetis wer neuer done of þe for no merite of none angel nor man ; but only of þi grete charite, and meke gentilnes, that þou owediste to us warde. And holi chirche reherfethe of þe, seyng þes wordis :

*Tu ad liberandum suscepturus hominem, non horruisti virginis uterum :* To deliver man fro the dangur þat he brought hym selfe in þorow Adamis sin, þou lothediste not the virgenis wombe : to be clofyd in so litul a place, þat by fore heuenis and erþe might not holde ; as holy churche reherfethe in grete commendacion of

62      *Te Deum Laudamus.*

þi fwete modur Mary, feynge : Quem celi capere non poterant, tuo gremio contulisti.

And in þi manhode, Lorde, aftur meny passions, as hungur, colde, thirfte, waytynge of deþe by Herode in yonge age ; and a nother tyme at þe hille, when they purposid to a caste þe doune, and so to haue broke þi necke ; another tyme to haue slayne þe with stonis ; at laste for oure sakis þou suffreddiste deþe moste shameful. And though it were shameful suffringe, yet it was to us moste necessary : For, by þat meke passion,

*Tu deuicto mortis aculeo aperuisti credentibus regna celorum.* The pricke of deþe was come,\* and a disseuerynge made by twyne þi bleffid soule and þi body. At the firste, þou openediste, to al pepul beleuyng hit, þe kyngdomis of heuene, þat by fore to vs were straytely shette. And aftur thi resurreccion, to present oure nature with worshippe to þi Fadur,

*Tu ad dexteram Dei sedes in gloria Patris :* Thou sittiste, in oure leuery, yn þe right hande of þe Fadur. And fro þens, at þe ende of þe worlde,

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\* We still say "at the *point* of death."

*Judex crederis esse venturus :* Thou arte beleuid to be a iuge over us al. Glad may we be þat the higheste iuge of þe kyngis binche of heuene is of oure clothinge. Then grete home-lines may we haue ouer him, þat kepethe so clene oure kynde, with oute corrupcion, and is oure advoket, and shal be oure iuge. But yett y fear me sumwhat by cause þat the office of a iustice is to be drad; and we haue often foulid and spottid oure clothis. And þer for, lest he shulde be grevid or displeid, or\* þe time of iugement come,

*Te ergo quesumus famulis tuis subueni, quos precioso sanguine redemisti :* We þi seruantis be seche þe to helpe vs in oure tribulacionis, þat with þi precius blode haste bought vs. For in this worlde is shorte rewarde, and in purgatory is sharpe rewarde, and in helle is cursid and desperate rewarde.\* And þer for, aboue al thes placis,

*Eterna fac cum sanctis tuis gloria munerari :* Ordeyne þou þat oure rewarde may be with þi seyntis in euerlastyng ioye. And though we pray this generally, as þe ordur of charite

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\* See Notes.

64      *Te Deum Laudamus.*

askeþe, for alle þe pepul of þe worlde, yett,  
gode Lorde, more specially haue mercy on al  
criftyne religion ; as we crye and seye

*Saluum fac populum tuum, Domine, et benedic  
hereditati tue :* Make þi pepul safe, þat they  
may atteyne, bi þi mercy, thyne heritage of  
heuene. So graunte hit þi bleffinge, and with  
þi foregoynge grace

*Rege eos, et extolle illos usque in eternum :*  
Gouerne þem, and enhaunce þem til they may  
come to þe. And though they be vexid with  
bodely sekenes and worly greuance, yet not  
withstandinge they singe and seye daly to þi  
high grace

*Per singulos dies benedicimus te :* Lorde, by  
alle daijs and timis we bleffe þe. What so euer  
þou sende us ; be it welle or wo, gladnes or  
heuines, with one entente we seye

*Laudamus nomen tuum in seculum et in secu-  
lum seculi :* We prayse þi name IHESUS at þe  
ende of oure prayer, as hartely and as sherpely  
as we dede at þe begynnyng. And for bi  
cause we ofte to be redy euery day aftur þi  
counfel, and oure nature is febul and weke, and  
enclynethe miche to synne, ther for we sey and  
pray to þe :

*Te Deum Laudamus.* 65

*Dignare Domine, die isto sine peccato nos custodire.* That this day, þat is þe laste day that we haue a bedyn, to kepe us fro synne, and namely fleuthe. But what kepyng is it þat we desire? Where it be to haue erthely riches, or continuall helthe or fauore of fleshly frenshippe? Nay, Lorde, nay: for all this is false and transitory. But we desire þi mercy while we leue here in þis vale of mysery;

*Misere nostri, Domine.* And þi mercy also when oure sowlis shal departe fro our bodijs,

*Miserere nostri.* And also þi mercy for al þo that bene in paynis in purgatory, and þer longe have bidde þi mercy. In the name of whom we pray þe for þer mede,

*Fiat misericordia tua, Domine super nos, quemadmodum sperauimus in te.* Lete thi mercy growe on us, as we triste verily on þe. And who euer hope the beste in þe, or beste doethe, thinkethe, or workethe for þe loue of þe, amonge them mekely, holy Lorde, y putte me in presse, and sey with them,

*In te, Domine speraui.* In þe, Lorde, y haue hopid as y code in my manner, and fayne y wolde a do better. But, gode Lorde, þer as



66      *Te Deum Laudamus.*

y am vn sufficiente, a mende me, chaſtiſe me,  
ſcourage me here in this life, ſo

*Non confundar in eternum*, that y be not  
ſhamed here aſtur euer more. *Amen.*

This litul MEDITATION, Fadur al-  
mighty, fouche ſafe to reſſeue with a benigne  
chere, that y ſympul and wrecchid creature  
offur vnto þi mageſte, be ſechinge the, Lorde,  
that as y haue menifolde aſkyd þe mercye, þat  
y may haue hit. And make in me a meke  
ſprete in though[-te], worde, and dede ; þat and  
if any heuynes come of any cauſe, inwarde or  
outwarde, bleſſid Sauioure, *Da nobis auxilium  
de tribulacione.* Graunte me helpe and ſtrenthe  
in al mi tribulation ; ſo þat y may euer more  
turne towarde þe, reſte in þe, and deſire euery  
perſonis welfare, for þe loue and worſhippe  
of þe.

So þat alle we, as þi choſyn childryn, with  
one wille, may ever be redy to ſynge and ſeye,  
with herte and mouthe,

TE DEUM LAUDAMUS.

## APPENDIX.

## HYMNUS [S. Ambrosii ut putatur].

Quoted under p. 6.



VENI creator Spiritus,  
 Mentem tuorum visita;  
 Imple superna gratia  
 Quæ Tu creasti pectora.

Qui Paracletus diceris,  
 Donum Dei altissimi,  
 Fons vivus, ignis, caritas,  
 Et spiritalis unctio.

Tu septiformis munere,  
 Dextræ Dei Tu digitus,  
 Tu rite promissum Patris,  
 Sermone ditans guttura.

Accende lumen sensibus,  
 Infunde amorem cordibus;  
 Infirma nostri corporis  
 Virtute firmans persequimur.

Hostem repellas longius,  
 Pacemque dones protinus;  
 Ductore sic Te praevio,  
 Vitemus omne noxium.

Per Te sciamus, da, Patrem,  
 Noscamus atque Filium;  
 Te [-que] utriusque Spiritum  
 Credamus omni tempore.

Such was the Hymn ascribed to St. Ambrose, allowed as part of the Public Service of the Church during 14 centuries—until this age of development threw it into the shade—rather say “into the crucible, and out came *this calf*,” to be seen in the Breviaria, Vespitalia, &c. of the “unchanged, unchanging, unchangeables.”

But the change here is slight—only substituting the barbarous

Qui diceris Paraclitus,

which was unknown to the writer when the sheet was put to press, with the true Ambrosian reading of the line, as printed at p. 7.

The outrage inflicted upon our grand and justly celebrated Hymn is of a graver character, and has been noted with all due gravity. Whether it was some new Pope, or other new

man, or new development, that “still would work, it knew not why,” as Parnell says of Care, it is of no use to enquire; but working it has been very recently, and probably still works or will work,—but instead of “destroying the web,” and thus provoking the creature to be “at its dirty work again,” I have a mind to lend, as I may, a helping hand to this veiled developer of dormant dogmata, and forestall him—her—it—or them, by a step or two in their steeple-chase—over hedges, ditches, church-fences, state-fences, corn-fields, potato-bogs, huts and hovels, castles and cattle-sheds—the laws and statutes of the realm notwithstanding.

There is—no, was, in the *Breviarium Romanum*, or, go back a very few years, and *there* is still a beautiful hymn for the first of the week—our Sunday:—

Primo dierum omnium,  
Quo Christus mundum condidit;  
Vel quo resurgens Conditor  
Nos morte victa liberat.

\* \* \* \*

Ut quique sacratissimo  
Hujus diei tempore  
Horis quietis psallimus,  
Donis beatis muneret.

The last line is quoted in witness of the active voice of our “munerari,” as well as the absence of any such notion as reward; for it is “donis,” with presents, not “praemiis” or “mercedibus,” rewards, or wages, that they ask to be ‘munerated’ or gifted.

But of the first two lines what is the offence? Who the judge? Who the executioner? It must have fallen among thieves; for it was found one day in the main street of the old metropolis with its scull split, its neck twisted, and its “pearl of great price” wrenched from the socket in which it had shone like a star during ages of thick darkness. Look at the mangled, rifled remains:

Primo die quo Trinitas  
Beata mundum condidit, &c.

“Christus mundum condidit” is only a repetition of a truth to which king Solomon, the evangelist John, and the apostle Paul, give their testimony; but that the blessed Trinity died for our sins, and rose again for our justification, as is implied in the new version, is a dogma equally unknown and unattested by any inspired writer in either Testament. But the new patch

not only makes a rent in the garment, but also disagrees with the old; for how can “conditor” be reconciled with “Trinitas beata?” Let Development alone for that. It has wrought up to a point from which it is easy to see that “conditor” must be developed into “conditrix;” which again, coming in so soon after Beata, develops the Blessed Virgin “in propria persona, immo et in proprio genere, numero, casu, immaculatam, non solum dei matrem, sed et mundi creatricem.” So the immaculate conception of Christ’s mother, is to prepare the way for the simple Hebrew maid not only to take the task of creating the world out of the hand of her divine Son, but to divide with Him, if not entirely to arrogate to herself, the glory of Redemption, the enduring of the cross, the victory over death and the devil, and the resurrection from the dead. All this may hereafter find its way into the Breviary,\* as a companion to the late-adopted “In gloria numerari.”

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\* Sic scilicet:—“Virgo Maria, quo die, Beata, &c. . . . Conditrix.” As Development is not infallible in Profody, this does not claim the merit of Supererogation, or any other “name of Blasphemy.”

*Summary of the Argument for Munerari,  
as it appeared Nine Years ago.*

I CAN plead guilty to the "boldness of my assertions," without disparaging the good faith in which they were made, (if that may be called good faith which implies any reliance upon Romish infallibility.) It is not the strength but the breadth of my assertion of "all MSS. and printed editions," that makes it too bold. When I extended my line so as to endanger the strength of my position, I neglected to cover my flank with the convenient auxiliaries "that I have seen," or "that appear to be of any critical value." As for MSS. I had on my side one of the eighth century, and one of the eleventh, written in *fractur*,—the Psalms being in initial (errore vulgi called uncial) letters,—Roman capitals. (Cot. MSS. Vespasian A. 1. and Arundel MSS. N<sup>o</sup>. 60.) In print I found it safely, as I thought, landed under the three-fold shelter of the triple tiara (as good as nine ordinary crowns)—the solemn sanction of three Presbyteri Romani, at the top of their profession—Pius V., Clement VIII., and Urban VIII.;

so never expected to meet it out at sea again, far less cast ashore by the mismanagement of some unskilful pilot, or headstrong commander. The present reading of the *Breviarium Romanum* is indeed against me—or rather, I am against it. My copy—a fine-paper 8vo edition of the seventeenth century—has the sanction here quoted, and the reading for which I contend.

When I wished to introduce to my advanced classical scholars a sample of original English, in as nice and strict grammatical construction as they found in Latin or Greek, I copied from Turner's History the Anglo-Saxon gloss of this sublime anthem. When I came to the "beon forgyfen" for "to be numbered"—for in the English only had I ever seen it—I was confounded. "What could the drowsy monk be thinking of?—I must see the original." I believe I had not then to seek the *Breviarium*, but had not made much use of it—only read a few of the Psalms. Now I searched in earnest, found the *Te Deum*, and saw that the monkish glossist had been neither sleeping nor slumbering when he interlined his Hymnarium. He knew what he was doing when he wrote these



words in beautiful small script over the print-like MUNERARI of Vesp. A. I.; not better, however, than he who interlined Arund. 60. These are as good as living witnesses, proving not only the reading, but the understanding—not only the body, but the mind (—) of the form before us. The next witness identifies the form, but varies a little in the sense: it is the old High German version, also an interlinear gloss, of the tenth or eleventh century, published by Jacob Grimm, from a transcript made by the celebrated Teutonist, Junius, from a MS. now lost. Instead of *forgifen*, freely gifted, we find “lonot,” which, according to the modern *lohn*, must signify rewarded—as if the simple *munerari* had been confounded with the compound *remunerari*. And to a similar confusion of ideas I am inclined to impute the gradual corruption of the passage in a later age. These are two of the translations to which I appealed. If I had my books here I could add the Swedish—the passive form of *gifwa*, to give, which should be *gifwas*. In modern German, Luther’s paraphrase in general use, is too general in the turn of the phrase for our purpose. But there is an edition of the Pfalter in which Luther could scarcely

have a hand—Latin and German, 4to. Basil. 1502. Here “munerari” stands flanked by “begabet werden”—(*gabe*, a gift). Most of the Protestant churches on the Continent, I believe, which adopt the hymn, use a translation of the English forms, and can afford no evidence on either side.

I have now to exhibit the new light which my renewed investigation has thrown upon the subject. When I asserted (as I again assert) that “gloria numerari” was *no* Latin, I was not aware of the extent—the unlimited extent—to which the assertion was true: I merely intimated that such a phrase, if it existed, was too bad to be called Latin. Now, I find it was never even supposed to exist. The change was made, not merely by transposing *m*, *n*, but by interpolating the preposition *in*. This first met my eye in the Sarum Book of Offices, and is also found in a MS. Hymnarium *in usum Sarum*, of the fifteenth century—in *gloria*; but whether the last word should be read *numerari* or *munerari*, I think no human eye or judgment capable of deciding. It is in a text hand, i. e. *woven* together, as it were, in one mass. For the first three letters, we find seven down strokes, joined

together by hair strokes at top and bottom, making mun, num, mim, nuni, nimi, or anything; for the dot—merely diacritical—no integral part of the letter *i*, was often omitted. I formerly supposed some such MS. to have been taken as the basis of the English translation; but the English Reformers, whose learning or piety I never called in question, are as innocent of the innovation here as, in my last communication, I showed them to have been in regard to the Gloria Patri. And, what astonished me not a little, I found grounds for believing that the process of corruption was the reverse of that which my previous knowledge of the case had suggested. Instead of the natural order, as might be supposed—*munerari* changed by mistake or design to *numerari*, and then *in* supplied to make it Latin of some sort—I was surprised to read in the “Psalmista Monasticum,” Venet. 1583, “Aeterna fac cum sanctis tuis: in gloria munerari.” The same absurd reading stands in the Breviarium Monasticum, ib. 1573, and Pontificale, ib. 1572.

As the denounced form “*numerari gloriâ*” makes no appearance, let the three—*MUNERARI gloria*, *munerari in gloria*, and *numerari in*

*gloria*—have a patient hearing and a fair trial. The evidence in favour of the first is overwhelming. Apart from the age of MS. evidence and papal authority, from early times to the seventeenth century, the translations into languages long since extinct are living witnesses, with memories a thousand years long. The second, which seems to be the transition form, is but feebly supported; while the evidence for the third is multitudinous, but recent and suspicious.

Looking at the whole question, let us try if we can find a solution, if not mathematically certain, at least morally probable. Which is more likely to have sprung out of the other—the first out of the third, or *vice versa*? Which makes the better sense—to be gifted with glory (*i. e.* have glory bestowed upon them), or to be numbered in glory? “To be numbered with thy saints” is precluded by the arrangement of the words—the insertion of *gloria* between *sanctis* and the verb. Next, in a literary view, the construction of the first is perfectly classical; not quite so the passive sense, which may have weighed with the heads of the Romish Church in admitting the change. And yet—another

proof in my favour every way—they let the active form stand unmolested in one of their hymns :—

Donis beatis muneret. (*lamb. dim.*)

Here, too, the combining of it with *donis* establishes my sense of the word, as giving no countenance to the idea of human merit. And yet it is not only scriptural doctrine, but a highly animating motive to well-doing, to contemplate the everlasting glory, as Moses did, in the light of the “ recompense of the reward.”

To my “munerari” MSS. I omitted to add a most respectable volume of the thirteenth century (Arund. 230), between the initial and text forms, what is by the Germans called *fractur*, because the letters are not joined, but broken off, so as to stand separate, as in print. Now the Sarum Hymns are written in a later hand, and set to music ; so the volume may have been got up after printing had come into use, and be nearly contemporary with the printed ritual of date 1541. Bishop Burnet makes mention of a reform in that Church about the year 1540. Again, we all know what stress the reformers, at home and abroad, laid upon the doctrine of free justification by grace, by faith, or, what is

virtually the same, by the righteousness of Christ. The idea of being *rewarded with* everlasting glory seemed, though undeservedly, to favour a contrary doctrine. The views of the reformers were partially adopted by many in the north of Italy and elsewhere, who did not, however, separate themselves from the Romish communion. These, while they retained the forms of devotion, would naturally endeavour to remove anything that did not harmonize with their enlightened views and conscientious feelings. To be rewarded *in* glory seemed to be a softening of the expression, as it did not define or imply the means by which they obtained admission to that state of blessed immortality. But, soon finding that “*in gloria munerari*” was a feeble, drawling mode of expression, or more probably having actually by accident hit upon that mode of deciphering the MSS. of the day, and thinking it might be strained into a connexion with “*cum sanctis tuis*,” “*in gloria numerari*” was adopted as a convenient compromise. Still the question occurs, how could it get into the authorized editions of the Breviary? Why, one living Pope may undo what has been done by twenty dead ones. Nay,

more, "Going over to Rome" has become a fashionable phrase: here is the converse,—Rome coming over to us.—*Gent. Mag. Mar.* 1848.

*Analysis of the word "Gospel."*

THE Anglo-Saxon *gōðspell* has been resolved into various elements of different significations. A double etymon has been assigned to the first syllable; a double meaning to the second. "God's spell or charm" is the favourite exposition of the late Dr. Adam Clarke and his school; "God's message or word" boasts the patronage of Dr. James Grimm and his disciples; the "good speech or message" is advocated by Mr. Thorpe, and other eminent philologists of our own country. The first is objectionable on two accounts; it assumes an artificial and secondary sense of "spell," and takes the first word in a relative or possessive sense, as if the compound were equivalent to Godes spell; and, in the third place, this would place the divine name in irreverent contact with a heathenish term of incantation. "The good message" recommends itself by the merit

of coinciding in sense with the Greek *εὐαγγέλιον*. And this view I thought I had established by irrefragable arguments. These, plausible as they are, have been totally annihilated upon the credit of three witnesses, not one of which will flinch under all the cross-examination and brow-beating of which the most practised special pleader is capable: old High German *gotspellon* (not *guot-* or *guatspellon*), Icelandic *gudspiall* (not *gōdspiall*), and Anglo-Saxon *goddspell* (with double *d*) of the *Ormulum*. The intrinsic value of this testimony needs not, any more than the perfect harmony of the witnesses, to be pointed out to any one acquainted with the first principles of Teutonic philology.

In the face of such evidence, he would be a hardy innovator who should write *goodspel*, or *gōdspell*. Neither is it *Godes-spell*, *Dei verbum*: that is too prosaic, indiscriminating, and unscientific, to satisfy the aspirations of the Saxon mind, in its eagerness to add to its wonderful nomenclature a term expressive of its conceptions and sensations on such an occasion. *God's spell*, or *Dei verbum*, is equally applicable, if not more so, to the Decalogue, to any prophecy, promise, or denunciation, that has



been recorded in the sacred Scriptures, or to the whole volume of inspiration. Even the modern English mind can feel the difference between giant's power, gigantic power, and giant-power. In the last form the preceding, modifying term gives its whole spirit and energy to the succeeding, incorporates itself with it, so that the two become absolutely one. What an infinite difference between "Godes bearn," common to the Saviour with every individual of the saved, and the electro-poetic amalgamation "God-bearn," Deity-child,\* or "Gæftsunu Godes," Spirit-Son of God. Thus Sigebearn Godes,—neither victor nor victorious, victory's, nor of victory, serves to exhaust the prefix. So Dryhtleoð and Drihtenbealu, lordly and lord's, are

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\* Exeter MS. Mr. Thorpe's "Divine Child" is the best that modern English can afford, as the Church has robbed our literature of the exact term—godchild or godson—in order to express a fictitious relationship. Godgimmas, another word in point, is not "Gottes gemmen" as Grimm seems to understand it, but gems of divine brilliancy—the stars—gods compared with all other gems. The untutored Indian's "Fire-water" is a literal translation of our "Brandy"—Brand-ea. In Brand stecken, Ger. to set on fire; Eafloð, Anglo-Saxon, water-flood.

milk-and-water substitutes : a song, a mischief, that lords it (makes itself lord,—that is the import of our reflective) over all other songs or mischiefs. Thorpe's "extreme evil" is a good approximation. Thomson styles the Thames "King of floods;" our Saxon predecessors felt the announcement of salvation to be not merely a king, but a God, in comparison with all other announcements. They prefixed a name of deity as an infinitely intensive element. That it should necessarily coincide with "good" is contradicted by *drihtenbealu*. In Exodus the Almighty himself declares to Moses, "I have made thee a god to Pharaoh." So there is no approach to irreverence in the form of the word, but good cause shown why the word should always be used in a reverent manner. Classical readers will recognise in "spell" a fine coincidence with the Latin *carmen*—abusively a charm, a form of incantation,—originally, any set form of words. In "gospel," a formal announcement, or proclamation, is intended; as evidently appears from the use of the verb,—

Spelland his bodeword . . . .

*Cott. MSS. Vesp. D. vii. Ps. ii.*

*Prædicans præceptum ejus.—Vulg.*

*Note to "Rhythmical Arrangement."*

THIS version differs from the preceding only in the adaptation of the words to musical staves of ordinary, though not of equal length. A few words have been interpolated to eke out the lines, without disturbing the sense; or rather to bring out more fully the thoughts implied in the original. Of the two words placed between inverted commas, the one (unmeted) will be easily understood from Matt. vii. 2; the other (dearworth), often heard in the north country, being pure English, is thought preferable to the exotic "precious."

"Dreadedst," the literal meaning of the simple verb, *horruisti*, asserts its indisputable right against all representatives of the compound *ab-horruisti*.

"Sealed shrine"—sealing the tomb in the last step of our Lord's humiliation, from which He was to step forth, as a conqueror, into a life of glory and immortality, leads, by a natural analogy, to the first step from His throne of glory to that figurative burial in a living tomb, from which He was to be, after weeks and months of

silence and darkness, sent forth into a world of pain and sorrow. The reserved chamber, in which the Second Adam was to take the vail,\* was also a sealed receptacle—not, like the so-called “holy sepulchre,” to be unsealed by any intermediate agency, but by the inborn might of the infant Emmanuel, and the Holy Ghost, which was upon Him, and abode with Him. In the confidence of this divine energy and aid, His spirit rested in hope, as His body, at the end of a weary pilgrimage, was to rest until “the days” of His temporary imprisonment “were fulfilled.”

In this confidence of hope, He dreaded not, —Non horruit. *Quæ causa horroris? In promptu causa est—Virgo futura parens. Denique, si partus primus periculosus, ut docet Terentius, quidni multo magis virgineus?*

In the peculiar manner of this wonderful advent some find a solution of the fourth and last of Solomon’s inscrutable mysteries,—“The way of a man with (Heb. in) a maid”—(Be-almeh.†) Whether this interpretation be right or wrong, it is certainly, beyond all comparison,

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\* Heb. x. 20,

† Prov. xxx. 19.

more elegant than the Romish application of Ezekiel xlv. 1, 2, 3, to the perpetual virginity of Mary, the wife of Joseph. For on comparing the parallel passage, chap. xlv. 1, which must admit a similar interpretation, we find a practical modification of the perpetuity by both a weekly and a monthly dispensation. How much wiser and manlier it were to give the whole credit of the dogma to human ingenuity, than so distort and degrade the holy word of prophecy!

*Various Readings of the Latin.*

Par. 4, 2, 4, Cherubin—Seraphin, No. vi. and some MSS.

Par. 16, 4, suscepisti—(6 nec,) MS. Ar. 60, and Voffii—A.S. þu andfenge, 4, 5.

Par. 18, 6, in gloriam, 1 MS.

Par. 21, 6, in, 2 MSS. and some prints.

Par. 21, 6, 7, 8, in gloria numerari,—Heures, &c., Par. 1494, some later prints, and most of the very modern *Breviaria*! In Ar. 60, the stroke over *a* in *Æterna* must have been intended for the word above it, þa, which ought to be þam.

Par. 23, r. venturus, *unavented*.

Par. 25, 6, &c., æternum, a few very modern MSS. and Edd.

*Notes to the "Meditation."*

In transcribing this article from the original MS. it was not thought expedient to execute a facsimile, or to retain the abbreviations and other peculiarities of the writing. Two characters only have been added to the common alphabet, namely, þ for th, wherever the author has so written, and ȝ for gh, which occurs once in the Meditation—fiȝte, *i.e.* fighte for fifth; and again, in a previous tract, hiȝly for highly.

It will be observed that vowels are never doubled in the same syllable: thus for *good* we have "gode;" for *too*, "to;" for *been*, "bene.;" which probably made two syllables. To learn that "the" or þe often stands for *thee*, þi for *thy*, þow for *thou*, þer for *their*, and also for *there*, requires a very few seconds of time.

Compound words are often written apart, as "a monge," "vn dedely," undeadly, immortal; "dis ese," uneasiness; "a noþir" for an other, or another; so at "the nende" for "then ende," the end, CHAUC.; for the "nonce," anciently

nonis and nones (nanis, G. Douglas—Virgil), &c., see Price's Warton under Peirs Plowman, "Note."—That ingenious philologist rightly expounded the riddle, and his reputation can afford this small abatement in favour of the plain truth:—"then" does not represent the *acc.* þæne, but the *dat.* (þam, þan, þon, þæm, þæn, þen), which is always used with prepositions that do not imply motion towards, or change of place, state, &c., and also with verbs, as "Gode gecweman," to please God; "gecwemð þen deofle," pleases the devil: MS. These two phrases agree in proving the *case*—"for then once."

Page 52, l. 10. "From tribulation" would have been better. 15. Stile, steel. 19. The to, thet (or that) o, the one.

Page 53, l. 2. The toþer, that other, the other. 3. Unlusti, unpleasant. 6. To, too (elsewhere two), beþe, are (seþe, faith, 22.) 11. Takyng, for takyn, given, hence "betake to." 15. Wake, watch.

Page 54, l. 15 and 20. Abeye, obeye—bow, yield, submit (anbugan—not modern "obey," obēdi); so asleep, oslepe, onsleep. 18. Thoffe, though; so cough, laugh, &c. 19. Recheles,

reckless, reck-loose, free from care ; A. S. *reccleas*, from *lyfan*, to loose,—not “less” care, as some say, confounding *leas* with *læs* or *læsa* minor, *i. e.* *lætfa*, or *lytfa* of *lyt*, *parvus*, dim. *lytel* ; as *wyrfa*, worse, from *weor*, bad. *Sinless* is not less sin, but free from sin ; as the contrary, *sinful*, means “free from righteousness.”

21. *Mynde*, memory.

Page 55, l. 23. *Fiȝte* (*fighte*), fifth—no *z* ; so *fiȝe*, *fighe*, five—“*Als y yode.*” 24. *Ouer alle*, over all, everywhere. 25. *Sese*, cease.

Page 56, l. 3. *Delite* (*delectare*, imper.), be delighted. Line 1. *Apostillus* should have been *profetis* or *Dauidis*, Ps. 37, 4.—13. *Thee*, *i. e.* *Thee* (as God), *Te Deum* ; *syn*, since. 15. *Preue*, *preve*, *prove*, (*Sc. pree.*) 21. *þer*, there. 23. *Their*.

Page 57, l. 9. *Omnis terra*, understood, rightly perhaps, as every land. 20. *Bodijs*, *bodiis* or *bodyis* (three syll.) bodies. So *ij*, 2, *vij*, 7, &c. 24. *Orebul*, horrible ; so *ostis*, hosts, 59, 4.

Page 58, l. 6. *Tokynge*, token (see 53, 11). 20. *Otheos*, ὁ Θεός. 22. *Yskiros*, ισχυρός, strong. 24. *Athánatos*, “undeadly,” or immortal ; *ageniste*, against, in opposition to,



Page 59, l. 4. Meny mo, many more (titles).

Page 60, l. 1. Study, zeal (studium). 2.

Wilful clenenes, voluntary chastity. 9. Crafty

men, craftsmen. 11. Low, unbeneficed, un-

preferred, (in opp. to "prelatis.") Thus, Æl-

fricus, "humilis frater," was not then a bishop,

when the other Ælfric was Archbishop of Can-

terbury. Qy. Has the latter left any writings?

18. To, two. 19. Evenhede, equality. 19.

Hym, it, itself—Dat. of hyt, or hit; neut. of

*he*,—"his;" Gen. of both. The modern vul-

gar "its" has been smuggled into use by persons

unacquainted with the first principles of English

(or of all) grammar. The sign of one case

cannot be suffixed to the sign of another, as *idius*,

*quidius*, *illudius*, *bonumi*, &c. Now *t* is the sign

of Nom. neut. of *he*, and must be rejected be-

fore *-is -es*, *'s*, or any other addition. Here is

the whole process:—Mæsfogothic *is*, neut. *ita*;

G. of both, *is*, D. *imma*, Ac. *ina*, *ita*; old

High Ger. *ir*, *iz*, and *er*, *ez*, or *es*, as in modern

Ger. In lower Saxon *h* was prefixed, as *her*,

and perhaps *het*, *hyt*, or *hit*,—hence A. S. by

rejecting the sign of the Nom. masc. (*r* or *s*), *he*,

neut. *hit*; G. *his*, D. *him*, Ac. *hine*, *hit*. No

room for the mishapen bantling, *its*. How the

classic English came to omit *b* in the N. and Ac. while it retained it in the G., as our Bible shews *passim*, and in the D. as here quoted, no information has come down to our day.

Page 61, l. 1. Byfore, before, *i. e.* more than (in). 15, 16. An accumulation of negatives, as in A. S. and in Gr. 18. Owediste, ownedst; Agan, to possess, owe, own. 23. Lothediste! What was to be loathed in "clene maydenhede?"

Page 62, l. 5. A nother, an other; why another, more than anox, anowl, anegg, &c.? 6. A caste, have caste; "a do," p. 65, have done, not "Be done," "Are ye done?" ut ignarum vulgus.

Page 63, l. 9. Drad, organic preterite of "dread." 11. Or, before,—so "or ever," Ps. 90, 2, and Cant. 6, 12. 19. Reward: if we read portion, and omit the comma in which purgatory occurs, the sentiment is not amiss; but see p. 24, l. 17.

Page 64, l. 8. Foregoynge—now Latinized prevenient—grace. See Lord Campbell *in causa* Gorham v. Bishop of Exeter. 20. IHESVS, Jesus. With a thousand examples of this form, or its abbreviation, both in MS. and in print, as

well as on English coins, it is unaccountable how men of real erudition can repeat the exploded conjecture—that I. H. S. stands for three words, instead of the simple, majestic name, Jesus:—Gr. ΙΗΣΟΥΣ (*ihsous*), abbr. I H C., first, second, and last letters. See the Rose Noble of Edward the 4th; The Vision of (concerning) Peirs Plowman, *passim*—contrasted with the Conversations Lexicon,—“Abbreviations:” “I. H. S., Jesus hominum salvator!!” So taught the Jesuits two hundred years ago. See my GERMAN-ENGLISH ANALOGIES, p. 71. 23. Ofte, ought: see Thoffe.—P. 65. Sherpely, eagerly. Abedyn, expected? Where, whether. Bidde, prayed? or awaited? Mede, release? Code, or coude, knew, for conde, from *can*, *novi*. If “coud” must become *could*, like *should* or *would*, it may be pret. of *call* or *kill*, but not of “can!”—P. 66. Fouch-safe,—voca *salvum* or *salvos*—curious compound! (Call me, him, or us, them, safe.)

*Concluding Note.*

As þerfor, therfor, is the spelling worthy to be called orthography, so “foregoing,” preceding, rightly keeps the *e* as a mark of *o* long, which might be replaced by an accent—fórgoing, A. S. fôr, and fóre, præ. Go. faur, and faura. Ger. vor. But *for* unaccented in A. S., (Go. *fair*, Ger. *ver*,) radically and ultimately different from the other, can neither be lengthened nor marked long by accent or following *e*. Thus, forgive, forget, forgo, (perdere, active of vergehen, perire, neuter,) cannot be written foregive, foreget, forego,—any more than vergehen be confounded with vorgehen, præire, or *e* be inserted in “fast-day,” making it “feast-day,”—without a change of sense as well as of sound.

A leading article in one of the daily papers, two or three years ago, begins its second paragraph thus:—“The foregoing observations have been suggested by the present aspect of public affairs, and we could not forego the opportunity,” &c. No! You could not take it before it came, but by foregoing it, (taking it in front,) when it presents itself, you have a chance of

feizing the forelock ; but, missing that, you must FORGO the opportunity, for it has no hindlock, —“ Post est occasio calva.” But the periodical press, while it exults in the high capabilities and extensive prevalence of our so-called Anglo-Saxon speech, is daily, weekly, and monthly ignoring, defacing or distorting, one by one, without regard to either Saxonism or Anglicism, the native forms and features of “English undefiled,” bequeathed to us by all the most accomplished authors of prose or verse, from Geoffrey Chaucer to William Cowper.

This active engine, so mighty for good or evil, though guilty of many grave offences against propriety, is not the only agent in the process of corruption : it has many auxiliaries and patrons, in quarters from which they were least to be expected. Not only our accomplished and popular novelists, but also our learned and laborious lexicographers, have combined with the public news-writers, and by keeping the false forms constantly before the eyes of their readers; have at last gained their ears also ; for you may now hear, in the streets, one friend inform another that he must “forego the pleasure,” &c., on such a day, by reason of a previous engage-

ment. The only way to forego, that is, anticipate the expected pleasure of that day, would be that his friend should fix an earlier day! Among dictionaries the most erroneous and inconsistent is the great folio of Dr. Johnson. For example :—FOREDO, (from *for* and *do*, not *fore*) ; all the quotations with *fore*! Some may plead for him that he found them so printed. But was it not the expectation and the boast of the work that it was to settle the orthography, as well as the use, of words in the language? Of this word he gives two meanings, which are evidently one and the same. Under FOREGO, (*for* and *go*,) right in its first and third senses. Why, then, does he not spell it so? (See Todd's edition.) To conceal or to ignore the inconsistency, he gives examples of the spurious form from authors to whom it was unknown, and who would as likely have written *foreget*, *foregive* (an injury), as *forego* (an advantage), or "Why wilt thou *foredo* thyself?" Old Bailey, who used to lie on the desk as the compositor's oracle, gives FORDO and FORGO quite correctly; not so, FOREDO, with the example of poor Ophelia's self-*foredoing* (!), from some incorrect edition—of which there are too many—of

Shakspeare. But where is the blundering to end? What remonstrance, argument, or authority, can arrest the headlong decadence of our noble English tongue? To the foregoing couple of spurious *fore* prefixes a third has been added in this present month of September, '57: *forebear*—provincial newspaper. A *fore-lorn* hope, a *fore-faken* cause, or a *fore-feited* right, may close the sad eventful history of errors.

Some fine examples of the organic form and primitive use of these intensive or peremptory compounds “*fordo*” and “*forgo*” might have been drawn from the ancient laws “of ENGLAND,” as they are denominated, though most of them were enacted before the name was transported from the cradle of the English race, on the western shore of the Baltic, to the isle of their adoption “within the four seas.” These laws are preserved in the original Saxon, or, by way of distinction, West Saxon; some of the later enactments—of Alfred and Guthrum, for instance, or of Athelstan—having a mixture of the Anglian, might seem to justify the name of Anglo-Saxon, which has been conveniently imposed upon the language of the whole Teutonic population of the British isles. That the several

dialects were ever blended together with a preponderance of the Anglian element—as in the case of the respective peoples—was not made the subject of historical research or critical examination. However just, and however conciliatory to his newly-acquired subjects, the title assumed by the Saxon Egbert, “Rex Anglorum et Saxonum,” might appear, it does not follow, as a matter of course, that an Angul-, Angol-, Angel-, (*g* hard,) or Anglo-Saxon people must all have used an Anglo-Saxon dialect.

The publication of the ancient laws, at the national expense, under the auspices of a royal commission, presented a grand opportunity for vindicating our language from the anomalous innovations by which ignorance and affectation are combining to mar, or to efface its original, organic, hereditary form and features. By referring to the text, independent of translation, or notes, or commentary, you find *fordón*, (not *fór*- much less *fóre-dón*, “foredo,” to put before, prefer,) and *forgán*, (not *fór*-, *fóre-gán*, to “forego,” precede.) The proper meaning may be found in the Anglo-Saxon dictionary.

A reaction in favour of the organic forms should not be deemed improbable. If professors



of our native tongue, who can compile scientific, *i. e.* historical, grammars, for the use of the native population, would draw their printer's eye to the orthography of Chaucer, Milton, Todd, Tattam, &c., they would not neutralize their sound doctrine by such a heterogeneous train of examples as "For-get, *fore-go*, for-give," &c., as compounds of *for*.

THE END.



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